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The American Indian and
Christian missions

THE AMERICAN INDIAN AND
CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

RACIAL STUDIES BY THE SAME WRITER

THE ORIENTAL IN AMERICA.

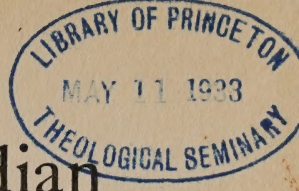
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INTERNATIONAL AND INTERRACIAL FACTORS IN THE PROBLEM OF MEXICANS IN THE SOUTHWEST.

CONGREGATIONAL INDIAN MISSIONS.

FACING THE FUTURE IN INDIAN MISSIONS (2ND PART).

STUDY OF CHRISTIAN ACTIVITIES AMONG INDIANS.



The American Indian and Christian Missions

By

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Introduction by

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TO
THE WOMAN
WHO FOR FORTY YEARS HAS HELPED ME
IN CROSSING RACIAL BARRIERS
BY FRIENDLINESS

INTRODUCTION

*BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED STATES
BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS*

MISSIONARIES to the Indians have been the pioneers of civilization across the continent. Too often their work has been submerged in the advancing flood of settlement, or obliterated by the cruel severity of the conquering race, or defeated by the rapacity of men preying upon the inexperience of a primitive people. This book ought not only to stir the pride of the people of the Churches in the zeal and devotion of their representatives in the field of Indian Missions, but also move them to make the existing missions more efficient. Here is set forth in graphic form a record that has nowhere else been assembled in such condensed and consecutive fashion. Some of the material discovered in the records of the Mission Boards and in the files in the offices in Washington is novel and the book presents some new aspects of an heroic story.

Most of the record of our contacts with the native Americans is humiliating to good citizens, but the story of the missionary endeavor is a bright page in a dark history. Dr. Hinman is more than a chronicler of events. He has made a discriminating selection out of a mass of interesting material. He has revived the story of endeavors too easily forgotten. He has pictured pathetic failures as well as successes. We know too little of the economic, social and religious needs of the Indians; of the patient and increasingly successful endeavors of the Indian Service to care for their health, property and education, of the well-directed effort and resolute perseverance of the missionaries and the sustaining churches.

This book should bring to Americans the fact that within

our own borders there are these considerable groups of peculiarly interesting people who need the help of Christian citizens. It should diffuse information, arouse sympathy, stimulate generosity. It should reassure the Mission Boards, and their representatives in the field, of the significance and importance of their work. It should cause the churches to see to it that their missionaries are furnished with a more adequate training for the special field of service to which they are commissioned; that they are given the equipment necessary for efficient work—a chapel, a community house, a dwelling, an automobile—and the facilities for establishing friendly personal relations with the people they want to help. They must further be given more frequent contact with the home churches. They live in comparative isolation, often in austere surroundings and sometimes without the tools essential for the physical and spiritual upbuilding of a race that has suffered many things at the hands of white men, but which is now ready to make a valuable contribution to our citizenship.

The representatives of the Federal Government can be depended upon for cordial goodwill. They welcome the co-operation of all the forces that work intelligently and constructively for the welfare of the Indians. They know that Christian teaching and the upbuilding of Christian character are fundamental necessities if the Indian people are to be prepared to take their places as self-supporting and contented American citizens. Christian Missions must still supply impulse and guidance for the Indians along the road to civilization, freedom and the joy of useful living.

SAMUEL A. ELIOT.

Boston, Mass.

PREFACE

UNTIL the American Indian writes his own history of the proclamation and acceptance of Christianity among his people any study of this significant phase in the history of American civilization must be largely objective and from the white man's standpoint; though always it is the Indian's response, rather than the white man's effort, that is fundamentally important. Accordingly this series of studies concerning missions among American Indians appears to give attention chiefly to what the missionaries have done. Worthy as they are of praise and remembrance, it is with the results of their work that we are chiefly concerned,—whether through their help the Indian has been more successful than before in seeking and finding the Great Spirit. Viewed in the perspective of history, admitting all the mistakes and sins of the white people of the United States in dealing with the Indians, the consequent handicaps to their advance in civilization and religion, it is still true that the cultural progress of the American Indian as a whole under the influence of Christianity is probably greater than that of any other people, during the last century of Christian missions.

These studies of significant episodes in the history of the Christian assimilation of the American Indian are purposely limited largely to the nineteenth century and after, the great missionary era of the modern Christian church. They are principally concerned with the work of American Protestant Christians for their Indian neighbors. Much of the Roman Catholic work for the Indians, before the great gifts and life service of Catherine Drexel, was done by European priests with European money. The story of Roman Catholic Indian missions in the modern period awaits a well-informed and popular interpreter of the constructive work now going on, as in the days of the padres in California and the Southwest.

Many notable incidents in mission history among Ameri-

can Indians have necessarily been omitted. It would have been a satisfaction to tell of the Baptist work of Isabel Crawford among the Kiowas, Father Wilbur's Methodist work among the Yakimas, the activities of the two branches of the Reformed Church among the Winnebagoes and the Comanches, the Mennonite missions among the Southern and Northern Cheyennes, the Congregational and then the Baptist work on the Crow Agency, and particularly the dramatic beginnings of the work among the Ojibways, by the Oberlin Band, and later that great work of the Episcopalians under Bishop Whipple. The story of missions in Alaska with the achievements of Sheldon Jackson and Egerton R. Young deserves a book by itself. Perhaps others will carry on the great story in the making of American civilization.

The preparation of this book was first suggested by a member of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners. The work has been encouraged by many of the home mission boards of the churches. Especial thanks are due to the Pomona College Library staff for unusual opportunities of study in their fine collection of Americana. Under appointment of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among Indians and Others in North America an extensive trip was recently made to many of the Indian agencies, studying the mission work and the relation to it of the activities of the Indian Field Service. This privilege of viewing the whole field and observing present conditions is gratefully acknowledged. Joined with the study of the past history of Indian missions it gives encouragement and enthusiasm for the future.

In many places throughout the United States church and secular organizations are uniting in the celebration of centennial anniversaries of local events in Indian missions. There is a new pride in the work of the pioneers, and it is hoped that these studies will add to the general interest in the progress of the Indian.

G. W. H.

New York, N. Y.

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I

THE RELIGION OF THE INDIAN

ALEXANDER POPE, in his "Essay on Man," gives a popular and easy characterization of the Indian's religion in the phrase, "Lo, the poor Indian, whose untutored mind sees God in clouds, and hears Him in the wind." The weakness of this definition of the Indian's religion is that it follows the common tendency to read into the word "God" the meaning familiar to the writer and reader, a meaning of which the aborigines of America had little conception. It is true that the American Indians, like practically all primitive peoples, saw in the clouds and the wind and other natural objects indications of something mysterious,—and probably dangerous. This common belief, called animism, is the philosophy of life which still underlies the religious thinking of a large majority of mankind, in spite of Moses and Buddha and Confucius and Jesus Christ, with all the prophets, who, in all ages, have sought to reveal God to their fellowmen.

Reverence for ancestors shares also with worship of the heavenly bodies and the forces of nature, animals and inanimate objects, in the religious thought of the American Indian, as of most peoples who have made any progress in group culture.

There is no question that the Indian was deeply religious. In his "Handbook for Missionary Workers among the American Indians" (p. 23), Lindquist says concerning the Indian:

"Religion entered into every phase of his life; his games and ceremonies thrived on it; his planting and harvesting could not be done without it; his fasting and feasting and

his search for food depended on it; the building of a house, the staking out of a camp, and, of course, the killing of his enemies, all had a basis in religion."

Much of the common interpretation of Indian religion falls into two serious errors, because we do not accurately and scientifically study what the Indian thinks as well as does about his religion, and because we compare our observations of Indian religion with a very inaccurate picture of true Christianity. Thus the eminent writer on Indians, George Bird Grinnell, says in "The Story of the Indian" (pp. 212, 216):

"The lessons taught by many of their myths are precisely those which would be taught by the Christian priest to-day. If written in our own sacred books the trust and submission to the will of the Ruler shown in some of the myths would be called sublime. . . . To such agencies prayers are offered in much the same way that for many centuries petitions have been made by certain sects of the Christian religion to saints and holy personages."

On the other hand the anthropologist, A. F. Bandelier, especially notable for his researches among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, discusses the religion of the Indian more realistically. Of Bandelier it is said, "His work resulted in the discrediting of the romantic school of American Indian history, and paved the way for scientific critical research." Bandelier is quoted in Leo Crane's "Desert Drums" (p. 234) as follows:

"There is no greater slave than the Indian. Every motion of his is guided by superstition. We wonder at many strange actions of the Indian which seem to us to lack of consistency, of truthfulness, an absence of moral consciousness. Nature, deified by him to the extent of innumerable personalities and principles, exacts from him the conduct which we blame. His religion, notwithstanding the promise of coarse felicity beyond the grave, reduces him to utter helplessness, makes him a timid, fettered being, anxiously listening to the voices of

Nature for advice. These voices still the silent throbs of conscience; they are no guide to the heart, no support to the mind."

Another American archæologist, Edgar Lee Hewitt, views the matter in a more idealistic, perhaps more sympathetic fashion. He says:

"The native American, like the Oriental, viewed Nature as the great source of all existence: he found, in contemplating its orderly processes, the principles for ordering his own life; he sought in its mysterious forces not something to be captured and made to serve him but harmonies that he might share to the profound satisfaction of his soul. His was a life of the spirit; existence in a world of unreality, of mysticism, of naïve spiritual experience." (Quoted in Coolidge's "Rain Makers," p. 3.)

Many persons put into the terms of Indian religion a spiritual content quite different from that of the Indian's thinking. There is a wide-spread belief that all Indians believed in the Great Spirit. Although this idea is rejected by some scholars, the statement by Crane in "Desert Drums" (p. 235), is probably not far from the truth:

"I personally believe that all the Indian tribes have dimly felt a Great Spirit, . . . but they have been without ability to express their Indian idea of it. Now that we have educated some Indians to our conception of monotheism, they accept this picture as a sufficient definition of their own inarticulate theory."

And in his "Handbook" (p. 24) Lindquist says:

"Much has been written of the Indian as a worshipper of a single Great Spirit, as though his belief encompassed a full-orbed monotheistic conception. This idea was foreign to most tribes before the coming of the white man."

The function of the Christian missionary in his religious approach to the mind of the American Indian might perhaps

be likened to that of Paul on Mars Hill, "Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you." In his "Gospel among the Sioux" Stephen Riggs points out that the phrase for "Great Spirit" was built up by the missionaries from two words, *Wakan*, meaning something mysterious, and likely to be dangerous unless propitiated, and *tanka*, meaning big. The accurate definition of the words, as first heard by the Indians from the missionaries, would be "the great mysterious thing," or colloquially, "the big medicine." Like every definition of God this phrase had to be filled with a spiritual content; but to the Sioux warrior of a hundred years ago its meaning was probably little more than that indicated. Says Lindquist:

"Characteristic of animism, wherever one comes in contact with this form of religion, is the obscure and dim conception of some supreme being. The idea which seemed to be common to the more primitive Indian tribes may be expressed briefly as follows: there is an original being or power, the something mysterious called *taku wakan* among the Sioux, who is responsible for all created things, designer and inventor of all things animate and inanimate. But this mysterious power has no further interest in the created world, much less human beings, and does not feel called upon to reward their efforts or punish their misdeeds."

All observers admit that the Indians have a strong sense of the supernatural, and frequently engage in religious meditation, worship and other religious practices. It is proper to say of them, as Paul said of the Athenians, that they are "very religious." Their sense of "a power not ourselves," as Matthew Arnold puts it, is very evident; but it is not to them, in actual practice, a power "that makes for righteousness."

Fear of the supernatural in the Indian stimulated self-restraint, asceticism, stoicism, even to the extent of terrible self-mutilation, but it did not suggest or encourage service for others or respect for the rights or persons of others. Peti-

tion and self-denial are always, in the most authentic and most dignified examples of Indian worship, efforts to secure power for personal advantage over rivals or enemies. In the "Handbook of the American Indian" (vol. 2, p. 365) Franz Boas, dean of American anthropologists, to whom credit is due for much of this study of Indian religion, says frankly: "Religious views and actions [among the Indians] are not primarily connected with ethical concepts." Scientific anthropologists who have attempted to reconstruct the community life of the American Indian do not attempt to picture him as animated by other motives than ambition for power and fame, to be secured by ruthless disregard for the rights of others. (See "American Indian Life," E. C. Preston.)

It is generally agreed that the religious ideas of the Indians are largely based on the assumption of magic power in natural objects, which may be brought under the control of the individual to further his own ends. All religious concepts dealt with the relations which the individual ought to sustain to this magic power. All the actions of the Indian were regulated by the desire to retain the good will of the magical powers (more or less personified) which were friendly to him, and to control those that were hostile. Boas says that the words, *Manito*, *Wakanda*, and similar expressions among the different tribes refer to this magic power, which may be brought under control and become the special "medicine" or "totem" of the individual Indian. Lindquist says:

"The Indian sought to establish such relations as he could with the unseen world of mystery round about him, exemplified in the forces and phenomena of nature and termed 'spirits.' These spirits were ubiquitous, having their abodes in trees, rivers, springs and mountains. When the trees were in full foliage they were considered specially active, and the rustling of the leaves betrayed their presence. One had better be careful what stories were told in the summer time, for the spirits might listen and take offense. In the winter, however, when the leaves were gone, no such caution was necessary. That some of these spirits were evil and had to

be placated through sacrifices, prayers and immolations was one of the fundamental tenets of the system. It was also believed that some of the spirits were the ghosts of the dead, now invested with supernatural powers, having assumed a close relationship with the great mysterious world being. Furthermore all the spirits could be the harbingers of misfortune, such as famine, disease, pestilence and death. Hence there was inextricably interwoven into the very fibre of the Indian's religion the fear complex."

The control of magic power among the Indians was usually through the observance of individual or social taboos. These taboos were largely negative, forbidding certain actions, to avoid giving offense to the spirits. Some of the taboos might appear to be rules of ethical conduct, though the reason for most of them is admittedly the effort to retain the good will of the magic or supernatural power in a particular animal or some natural object. Respectful behavior toward old people and a certain decency of social conduct are among the requirements of the religious taboos. Though they appear to be approaches to a social ethic the reason given for them is generally a fear of losing the protection of the tribal guardian rather than a feeling for moral principles.

One of the means for individual control of the magic powers, which control formed a very large part of the religious activity of the American Indian, was the practice of purification by fasting, bathing and purging, to avoid the ill will of the occult powers. The Indian was not satisfied, however, with merely avoiding this ill will. He sought actively to control the supernatural agencies and make them subservient to his will.

There were various plans for acquiring magic power which were suggested to the young men as they were growing to manhood. One often reads the idealized narratives of a young Indian's long search and struggle for a spiritual experience. The harsh self-discipline involved was undeniable, but what the young Indian definitely sought was to become

a successful hunter, warrior or medicine man, or to have the power to acquire wealth, success in gambling or the favor of women.

As distinguished from social religious rituals these individual religious practices often appear to be more dignified and worthy, largely on account of our tendency to honor the ascetic and to confuse harsh physical self-discipline with real self-sacrifice for others. Among the Indians it was common to seek some personal guardian by a long process of purification and self-torture, in the effort to make the body clean and acceptable to the supernatural beings. During the period of adolescence the youth often exposed himself in the mountains for days without food or shelter or even clothing, sometimes cutting off a finger in sacrifice, until at last some vision came to him as a result of physical exhaustion; or, instead, he gave up disappointed, failing to win his vision and its promise of future power. (See MacLeod, "American Indian Frontier," p. 531.)

Other means of establishing connection with the guardian spirit in some animal or bird or other natural object were by dancing or by the use of drugs. The seeker worked himself into a trance and established a self-hypnosis by which he secured the coveted vision. A modern expression of this religious habit is the *peyote* cult among the Indians of the Middle West.

Peyote "buttons" are the dried calyx of a certain variety of cactus grown in Mexico, and resemble a dried mushroom. The "buttons" are either chewed or infused. They have been used in Mexico for many years, but were introduced among Indians in the United States in comparatively recent times. At present the use of peyote is confined mostly to the plains tribes. They have begun in some places to grow it for themselves, though most of the supply is still brought in from Mexico by Indians.

Chemical analysis and practical observation of its effects has made evident that it is a narcotic. Efforts have been

made by the anti-narcotic agents of the government to prevent its use; but, by the advice of James Mooney, of the Smithsonian Institute, some Oklahoma Indians secured a state charter for "The American Church," using peyote as a sacrament, thus avoiding interference with their practices, under the constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion. This travesty of religion does not appear to have any social value.

The so-called "worshippers" of peyote get together for an all-night session when a supply has been brought in by some well-to-do Indian. The buttons are distributed freely to those in attendance, as a means of establishing the influence and leadership of the man who has secured the supply. Some Indians say that the use of peyote provides "a cheap drunk," when whisky is so expensive and hard to get. A special writer on an Oklahoma city daily participated in one of the peyote orgies and described the physical and mental effects. Long continued chewing of the peyote button, he writes, greatly increases the flow of saliva, and tends to cure indigestion. The mental effects are hallucinations of splendor, a lassitude and dazed condition which persists for some time. The use of peyote appears to be extending among Indians in various parts of the United States, though its importation is now forbidden by the laws of some of the states. A full discussion of the drug and its effects is given in MacLeod's "American Indian Frontier" (pp. 528-532).

Another means of controlling the powers of nature practiced among the Indians was by prayer. In connection with the practices and forms of prayer among Indians it is easy to confuse their religion with Christianity by emphasizing their prayers for rain, for strength and success in their undertakings. Long periods of silent meditation are common with the Indian. Authentic forms of prayer have been reported which often lay stress on the helplessness of the suppliant and the power of the spirit addressed. One author quotes an old, blind Indian who was overheard in a dignified and beautiful prayer to a field mouse! The objects of these prayers

are usually limited to protection in danger, removal of sickness, obtaining food and other material benefits.

Primitive religion is normally concerned with securing personal favors from the generally reluctant spirits by some sort of bargain. Prayer is one method, but fetishes, sacrifice and incantations are also effective, and probably more commonly used by the mass of the people. Among a few prayer is a "feeling after God, if haply they may find Him," though their conceptions of God and their petitions to Him generally are crude and materialistic.

Bloody sacrifice does not appear to have been specially common among American Indians, though personal mutilation was frequent, many cutting off several finger joints, tearing the flesh from the breasts and the thighs, as in the pole swinging of the sun dance, and sacrificing pieces from various parts of the body. Only in a few places, particularly in the more developed and priest-controlled religions of Mexico, do we hear of human sacrifice.

The purpose of sacrifice and gifts to the supernatural powers was always to gain their assistance and avoid their enmity. Propitiation of these powers, if offended by transgression of taboos, was also secured by punishment, either voluntary self-torture, abstinence, or a vow, or by communal action against the individual.

Protection against disease was also sought by the help of magic powers. The *shaman* is popularly known among white people as the "medicine man," both because the cure of disease was to the Indian essentially a religious function, and because the individual Indian's totem or guardian spirit is frequently called his "medicine." There is no particular theory of disease necessarily involved in the Indian's philosophy of control of disease by the help of the magic powers. There were among the Indians very many explanations of particular diseases, varying with the imagination of the particular shaman or the credulity of the people.

Belief in the control of diseases by supernatural power

persists, as we know, among groups with relatively advanced ideas of anatomy and hygiene. It was a general belief among Indians that disease was due primarily to the presence of a material object in the body of the patient or as an effect of the absence of the soul from the body. Hence the work of the shaman was to secure the help of supernatural powers to remove the alien object or to call back the absent spirit.

In their book, "The Navajo Indians" (p. 273), Dane and Mary Roberts Coolidge say of the medicine man, whose power is still strong in that large tribe:

"All Indian medicine men have been, until recently, strongly opposed to white men's medicine. The medicine man attributes sickness to occult and sinister causes, and is supposed to possess magic powers for curing it. But for simple ailments he uses herb and root teas and powders, as cathartics, tonics, sweating medicines, emetics and poultices. In olden times he extracted arrows, reduced sprains, dressed wounds, and massaged the afflicted part. To keep up the illusion of his magical powers he goes through much ceremony which has little to do with the ailment, but which suggests healing to the mind of the patient. He carries about with him a bundle of sacred objects and fetishes, which are supposed to produce benign effects. If the malady is internal and obscure it is attributed to evil spirits, which are driven out by a special ceremonial treatment, a chant or sing, for which the patient must pay in advance, and to which his friends must contribute."

S. H. Pond, one of the pioneer missionaries among the Dakota Indians, says, in "Two Volunteer Missionaries Among the Sioux" (p. 231), of a medicine man he knew:

"While he practiced the cunning arts of the Indian conjurer he at the same time administered the simple remedies of which experience had taught the value. Indian treatment was remarkably successful in certain lines of surgical practice in which Indian doctors were experienced. They were both judicious and successful in the treatment of gunshot wounds."

The development of religious ritual and practice in connection with the social organization of the Indian tribes resulted from the specialization of function among the shamans, who often claimed supernatural powers through heredity from successive generations, and thus became a privileged caste. Priests also appear as a distinct class, separate from the medicine men, among some of the Indian tribes of a more advanced communal life. Often the head of the clan is the priest, as well as the chief for his tribe, where the religious ritual is associated with political functions. In any case the medicine man is always closely associated with the chief in all tribal concerns.

The professional standardization of religious ritual and practice in the hands of the medicine men and the priests or chiefs tends naturally to the elaboration of ceremonial and neglect of that simple meditation and communion with nature by the individual which was so characteristic and so appealing in the plains Indians. Religious practices become more picturesque and develop a considerable power of social control.

One characteristic of the social expression of Indian religion was a strong inclination towards excitement induced by dancing and self-hypnosis. Indians are easily moved by the appeals of prophets who have from time to time appeared among them, teaching some new doctrines or practices based on older religious beliefs or adaptations from the teachings of Christian missionaries. One of the best known of these modern developments of Indian religion was the Ghost Dance or Messiah Craze, which originated in Nevada in 1888, spread rapidly among various tribes, and led to the Indian outbreak in the Sioux country in the winter of 1890-91, with the eventual killing of Sitting Bull and the massacre of his followers at Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota. Messianic hopes have been characteristic of religious movements among the Indians ever since the invasion of the white men into their country. Frequently leaders presented themselves as heaven-sent deliverers for all

the Indian people, and thus secured a certain temporary unifying influence among the tribes.

Another modern Indian religion which developed on the Pacific Coast in the wake of the labors of Myron Eells and other missionaries is called "Shakerism," a curious medley of Roman Catholic, Protestant and pagan ideas and practices. It was started by a Puget Sound Indian in 1883, and was incorporated in Oregon in 1917. It has a considerable following among the Indians of the Puget Sound region, and has spread into adjoining states. Several Shaker churches have been built in Washington and Oregon. The Indian Shakers (no connection with eastern Shaker churches among white people) regard themselves as Christians, and their organization on the same basis as other Protestant churches. They hold regular services with a preacher, but their characteristic religious exercise is dancing and shaking their persons, as they circle around the body of a sick person lying on the floor in the center of the meeting room. Eventually the hypnotic influence extends to the sick man. If he gets up and shakes with the rest then the meeting is a success and he is supposed to be cured.

Although Shakerism claims to forbid drunkenness, there are few missionaries or government Field Service men who have had contact with the Shaker churches who feel that this religion has any moral value. A Christian teacher in one of the government Indian schools attended a Shaker church service. The preacher took pains to explain to the visitor about their beliefs and ceremonies, but was plainly embarrassed by her presence, and her pupils urged the teacher not to remain for the later exercises.

Apparently a considerable number of Indian young people who go to Roman Catholic or Protestant services in government boarding schools attend the Shaker church when at home. It is evidently a cheap home-made substitute for the Christianity taught by the missionaries; but it has this value, at least, that it is a product of the Indians themselves,

and may eventually develop with the developing religious life of the Indian communities where it has been started. One missionary has expressed himself as anxious to study Shakerism with the hope of helping in such development.

In some of the Indian tribes there appears to be a "modern recrudescence of heathenism," to use Stephen Riggs' phrase. Quite elaborate secret rituals of initiation are practiced among the Ojibways of Upper Red Lake, Minnesota. The "grand medicine," as it is called, seems to be active, and its secrets are guarded with great care. The few "grand medicine" men and women who are admitted to the higher degrees are unwilling to disclose any of the secrets even after they have turned to Christianity. Among the Northern Cheyennes there are initiations in connection with the growth of young men and women. Devotees of these old cults bitterly resent any investigations of their practices. In the "kivas" of New Mexico, circular underground chambers where the men alone congregate for work and counsel, there are secret initiation rites for young boys, as well as other elaborate ceremonies of sand painting and ritual offerings. Only a few of the ceremonies, like the snake dance, are held in public and exploited commercially. In most of the rituals the presence of the ubiquitous tourist is resented. To the devout pagan curiosity seekers are less welcome than avowed missionaries.

Social tradition and social control in the Indian communities was made effective through religion. There was a great variety of communal activities related to the religion of the tribe, usually dancing and elaborate ceremonials, which were made opportunities for compelling conformity by all. Even the individual experiences in seeking a dream or a powerful "medicine" were made the common property of the Indian camp. Probably tens of thousands of Indian young men have gone away to desert or mountain, as have restless souls in all ages and of all races, to seek a vision and to prepare themselves for success and leadership. How few in any land have come back as prophets to their community with higher

ethical ideals and a consciousness of the one holy and loving God!

Miss Alice Fletcher, an eminent American archeologist, once president of the American Anthropological Society, and regarded as one of the most authoritative interpreters of the North American Indian and his soul life, his religion and his social concepts, sums up very sympathetically, though realistically, the religion of the Indian as follows:

“No group of people on the continent were destitute of religious beliefs, or of rites and ceremonies expressive of them. These beliefs were based on the idea that man, in connection with all created things, was endowed with life by some power that pervades the universe. The methods of appealing to this power varied with the environment of the peoples, but the incentive was the desire for food, health and long life. Among all races priestcraft has overlaid many of the higher thoughts and teachings of native religion and led to unworthy practices” (“Handbook of the American Indian,” vol. 1, p. 301).

American Indians have often felt after God, though generally in a blind and selfish desire for power or personal advantage; but their social practices and religious professionalism have generally stifled the religious aspirations of the youth. To these people Christian missionaries have, since the coming of Columbus, brought a new Word from God. This message is one which the Indians sorely need, and have generally welcomed,—until they have become prejudiced and alienated by the evidence of the white man’s hypocrisy and greed.

II

MISSIONS AND WARS

THE Spanish and French explorers on the Western Continent, accustomed to a close dependence between church and state, made Christianization of the Indians a part of their program of conquest. We need not emphasize the mixed motives which animated them, nor the superficial processes of Christianization. They felt much the same ambition to win the country for God, or rather for the church, as to win it for their king, understanding, of course, that greater glory and power for the church and the king was of at least equal significance with any benefit to the natives resulting from their efforts. Despite this fact, the work of the missionary priests who accompanied the pioneer explorers and conquerors was usually a powerful constructive influence for the transformation of the Indian's individual and community life. If they depended too much on military power to begin their civilizing work, the great achievements of their mission villages in Texas and New Mexico and California were the results of their own indomitable, devoted and creative spirits, and their successors, at least, lived to see how the military power, which opened the way for their work, eventually brought to almost complete destruction the new Christian civilization they had laboriously built up.

The first phase of missions to American Indians is a series of spectacular triumphs of a Christian social order, blotted out one after the other by the ruthless and indiscriminating hand of war. Within twenty years after the founding of St. Augustine in 1565, there was a chain of flourishing Indian missions

along the coast of Florida and north to St. Helena in South Carolina. Then a neighboring Indian tribe attacked the mission villages and killed several of the missionaries. In 1615 there were twenty missions with about forty missionaries. In 1655, the Christian Indian population of North Florida and the Georgia coast was estimated at twenty-six thousand. James Mooney of the Smithsonian Institute says in his article in the "Handbook of the American Indian" (vol. 1, p. 874):

"The traveler, Dickinson, has left a pleasant picture of the prosperous condition of the mission towns and their Indian population, as he found them in 1699, which contrasts strongly with the barbarous conditions of the heathen tribes further south, among whom he had been a prisoner."

But the rivalries of Christian nations made short work of the constructive efforts of the missionaries. The English colony of Carolina, which claimed the whole territory of Spanish occupancy and missionary labors, sent out a small force of white men and a thousand or more well-armed Indian warriors, and destroyed one mission town after another, with their churches, fields and orange groves, killed hundreds of the Christian Indians and carried away fourteen hundred prisoners to be sold as slaves.

The Spanish, in their turn, resented the activity of the French among the Indians on the lower Mississippi and, probably at their instigation, the Natchez Indians began a war against the French white settlers in 1729 by the massacre of the entire Jesuit mission.

In the year 1760 the Indian population attached to the various Spanish missions in Texas numbered about fifteen thousand. In 1812, the secularization of the missions by the Spanish government scattered the Christian Indians and largely destroyed the results. The chief memorials of this great constructive work, so tragically blotted out, are the ruins of the Alamo (the mission of San Antonio de Padua)

and a religious manual for the use of the converts, almost the only specimen of their language remaining.

In California Junipero Serra and his successors established a chain of twenty-one prosperous missions, beginning at San Diego in 1769, and extending northward to Sonoma, north of San Francisco, where, for a time, Russian power and culture, coming half around the world through Siberia and Alaska, stood facing Spanish power and culture advancing in the other direction via Mexico and the Pacific Coast. Many volumes have been written concerning the work of these California missions, and the ruins of the mission establishments draw crowds of visitors for their artistic as well as their historic interest. Says Mooney:

“The mission buildings, constructed entirely by Indian labor, under supervision of the fathers, were imposing structures of brick and stone, some of which, even in their roofless condition, have defied the decay of seventy years. Around each mission except in the extreme north were groves of palms, bananas, oranges, olives and figs, together with extensive vineyards, while more than four hundred thousand cattle ranged the pastures. Workshops, schoolrooms, store-rooms, chapels, dormitories and hospitals were all provided for, and, in addition to religious instruction and ordinary school studies, weaving, pottery making, carpentry and every other useful trade and occupation were taught to the neophytes, besides the violin and other instruments to those who displayed aptitude for music. . . . The missionaries taught by practical example at the plow, the brickyard and in the vineyard.”

Another writes emphasizing the extensive works of architecture and mechanical structures, such as mills, machinery and workshops, besides bridges, roads and canals for irrigation, all built by untrained Indians, probably lower in the scale of civilization and morality than any others within the limits of the United States, and says:

“The fact cannot be mistaken; it was not merely by

proselytism that the missionaries succeeded in attracting the Indians. The missionaries had re-solved the great problem of making labor attractive. If religion was the end, material comfort was the means."

This was written by a traveler who visited the missions only a few years before the revolutionary government of Mexico, in 1833-34, jealous of all this prosperity, decreed the secularization of the missions, the confiscation of all the mission funds and the vast herds and extensive lands, and the expulsion of all the Spanish missionaries. The lands were distributed to political and military adventurers, and their followers carried through the work of destruction by even taking the tiles from the roofs of the mission buildings and rooting up the vines and fruit trees in the gardens. In 1834, the California missions enrolled thirty thousand Indians, with nearly eight hundred thousand cattle, horses, mules, sheep and goats and hogs. Their fields produced a hundred and twenty-five thousand bushels of grain.

The Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1871 states concerning the Mission Indians: "Since they have come under the control of the United States their lands have been taken from them and they are now poor. They have a good knowledge of the manual labor occupations of the country, and perform the most of it themselves. They are in fact in a state of vassalage to the whites, and their women furnish most of the domestic labor of the country. The meaner class of whites either cheat the Indians out of their pay for their labor, or pay them in that which increases their demoralization."

At present there remain only a pitiful remnant of about three thousand so-called Mission Indians in poverty and neglect. Read the story of Ramona. Pass lightly over the mistakes of the Spanish fathers in encouraging dependence and neglecting inspirational education; but remember with shame how greed has again and again demolished the work of decades of patient Christian effort in mission fields, how

war and pillage have so often blotted out the fair oases of Christian civilization, to serve the interests of others who call themselves Christian. God's Word will not return unto Him void, we sincerely believe; but when war madness comes, Christian civilization breaks down, as it has so many times in the past. Not infrequently, in isolated sections, among new converts, it never recovers, but leaves only a grinning ghost to mock our faith.

In New Mexico and Arizona, the Spanish missions among the pueblo Indians had progressed, by 1630, until there were about fifty priests serving more than sixty thousand Christianized Indians in ninety pueblos with twenty-five principal missions and churches. But the exactions of the Spanish military authorities, and the friction between the missionaries and the military administration opened the way for attacks on the missions and the pueblos by wild nomadic tribes, and counter attacks by the Spanish forces from Mexico. Then the pueblo chiefs themselves joined in a great conspiracy to utterly exterminate the Spaniards, sparing neither soldier, priest nor settler. Later the missions were reestablished by force.

In 1749 the Christian Indians in New Mexico, including the vicinity of El Paso, were reported to be about thirteen thousand. The Spanish population of this territory gradually increased, and the Indians became more or less associated with the general population. The missions were transformed into ordinary church establishments. To-day there remain of the entire pueblo population, which once included sixty thousand Christianized Indians, about fourteen thousand persons in twenty-five villages. The majority are nominal Christians, except the people of Hopi and Zuni; but very many of the ceremonies of their old religions are openly practiced, and the problem of Christian work among them is immensely complicated and made more difficult by this history of bloody struggle, and by greed and exploitation and conformity to a ritual imposed upon them, without much real

change from strongly held traditional beliefs. Recently a Roman Catholic priest is said to have admitted that they had not been able fundamentally to change the religious beliefs of these Indians. (Quoted in "Perpetual Pagans," *Forum*, Nov., 1932.)

That strange "Sky City" of Acoma, with its great adobe church, of earth carried up the narrow trail from the plains below, is a symbol of the compromise between old heathenism and the enforced conformity to Roman Catholic institutions. The almost perpendicular rock walls of the mesa still show the powder stains of the Spanish attacks. The church stands empty except for a few hours once a month; while the dances and the semi-religious games and ceremonies go on much as they have always done. The citadel of village conservatism is as little affected by the advance of Christian civilization as the narrow cliff-top on which the village is built.

The missions of Florida, Texas and the Southwest were not the only ones to suffer the blight of war, and to demonstrate how quickly Christian principles are thrown overboard by Christian nations when rivalries and jealousies release the fighting spirit. The work of Roger Williams after 1635 among the Indians was such that he was able to hold certain tribes from alliance with those hostile to the settlers of New England. During the terror of King Philip's war in 1675-76, the Christian Indians under the teachings of Thomas Mayhew remained quiet and friendly. But most of the great work built up by John Eliot and his co-workers after 1646, including, in 1674, fourteen villages of "praying Indians," as well as the work among other tribes in southeast Massachusetts, and enrolling nearly twenty-five hundred more of Christian Indians, was destroyed with the breaking out of the great struggle between the colonists and the forces of King Philip. The settlers refused to believe in the friendship of the Indian Christians, and made such threats against them that many joined the hostiles in self-defense, and afterward fled with them to Canada and New York. The "praying towns" were

broken up, and the Indians who remained were held as prisoners on an island in Boston harbor. At the close of the war, the two races were so embittered against each other that mission work was practically impossible. In 1684, only four of the fourteen praying towns of Christian Indians were left. In 1698 there were only ten members left in the Indian church at Natick. A few years later the only relic of this great mission work among the Indians of New England was a translation of the Bible, which no one living can now read.

The New York mission of the French Jesuits was begun in 1642. Between the intervals of war, there was considerable success in the work. A number of mission towns were founded either in northern New York or across Lake Ontario in Canada. Three of these Catholic Indian towns survive to the present day, two of them being the largest Indian settlements north of Mexico. In the seven years of war after 1687, Christian Iroquois of the missions and heathen Iroquois of the Five Nations fought against each other as allies of French or English. All mission effort among the villages of the great Indian confederacy of central New York was finally abandoned in consequence of the mutual hostility of France and England.

The history of the colonial period is full of incidents of missionary attempts among the Indians which were rendered futile or destroyed through war. When attacks on the missions were made by Indians there was usually some suggestion or encouragement from white settlers or the military forces of the contending European powers or of the colonial governments. Moravian missionaries among the Creeks of Georgia were forced to leave the colony in 1739 because they refused to fight the Spaniards. A French Jesuit missionary among the Cherokees, who had established a successful mission in East Tennessee and organized the Indians into a civilized form of government, was seized by the South Carolina authorities as a French political emissary and died in prison. The first mission work in western Pennsylvania, begun in 1755,

was discontinued on account of the French and Indian war. That unique adventurer, Sir William Johnston, superintendent for Indian affairs for the region of New York under the British government before and during the Revolution, and his Indian brother-in-law, the famous Joseph Brant, assisted in the promotion of Church of England missions among the Indians,—when they were not engaged in fighting the colonists. Brant was conspicuous in some of the raids and massacres of the Revolutionary period, although he had been taught in Dr. Wheelock's charity school at Lebanon, Connecticut, which later became Dartmouth College. He made a translation of the "Book of Common Prayer."

A Moravian mission begun in 1740 among one of the tribes of New York Indians attained a considerable success until the hostility of the colonial government, instigated by the jealousy of those who had traded on the vices of the Indian, compelled its abandonment. Flourishing churches had been built up. Some of the converts followed their teachers in a forced migration to the West; the rest, left without help, relapsed into barbarism.

One of the most tragic stories of the early history of Indian missions is in connection with the work of Count Zinzendorf and his associates, Zeisberger, Heckewelder and others. The Christian Indians who emigrated from New York gathered at Gnadenhütten in Pennsylvania, where there was soon gathered a Christian Indian congregation of five hundred. Other stations were established with fine prospects. All went well till the outbreak of the French and Indian war when Gnadenhütten was attacked, the missionaries and their families massacred and the mission destroyed. The converts were scattered; but later gathered into a new mission until the breaking out of Pontiac's war. Then they were brought to Philadelphia under guard, and kept until the close of the war, suffering every hardship and in constant danger of massacre by the excited border settlers, who could not, apparently, believe that there was any good Indian but a dead Indian.

There were three later migrations of these Christian Indians, and in 1776 the Moravian work reached its highest point of prosperity. Then came the Revolution, by which the missions were utterly demoralized, and finally the culminating tragedy, in 1782, when nearly one hundred Christian Indians of the new village of Gnadenhütten, after having been bound together in pairs, were barbarously massacred by a party of Virginia frontiersmen. (Heckewelder's "Narrative of the Missions of the United Brethren," quoted in *Missionary Herald*, June, 1824.)

Once again the remnant of this Christian village, led by their faithful missionaries, moved on to the West. Their new location in northern Ohio was much disturbed by the War of 1812, and the crowding in of white settlers, so that it was abandoned in 1823, and a pitiful remnant joined the Munsee Christian Indians in Kansas.

There was no part of the inhabited country which escaped the war madness, and the fear and jealousy of the white settlers toward the Indians who stood in their way. No distinctions apparently were made, though there were many large groups of Indians which had made great progress toward Christian civilization under the leadership of devoted Catholic and Protestant missionaries. The French mission at Indian Old Point in Maine, among a tribe almost completely Christianized, was regarded with suspicion by the New Englanders because the missionary had succeeded in attaching the Indians so strongly to the French cause. In 1705, the church and village were burned by white settlers. In 1722, the mission was again attacked and pillaged by a large force. In 1724, a third attack was made by the New England men, with a party of Mohawk allies, and the congregation scattered after the missionary was killed, scalped and hacked to pieces and the church plundered and burned. As a modern instance of building the tombs of the prophets it is interesting to note that Harvard University in 1833 published the dictionary of the Indian language left in manuscript by this missionary and

carried off by the raiders who destroyed his life work. The other mission stations in Maine steadily declined under the constant colonial warfare. In 1759 a large and flourishing Christian Indian village across the line in Canada was attacked by a New England force and destroyed, two hundred Indians being killed.

A mission among the Mohegans in southern New England was carried on after 1670 with some success, but came to an end with King Philip's war. Efforts were continued at intervals among the tribal remnants during the eighteenth century, but with little result, in consequence of the rapid decrease and demoralization of the Indians. But one notable result of their work was the Indian orator and missionary, Samson Occum. He is said to have delivered three hundred sermons in England. It was through his success in raising funds in that country that Wheelock's school in Connecticut was transferred to New Hampshire, where it was incorporated as Dartmouth College.

The Stockbridge Indians, with whom Jonathan Edwards and David Brainerd labored, persist as a small group in the neighborhood of Green Bay, Wisconsin, after repeated migrations and merging with the Brotherton band and other tribal remnants. The westward advance of white settlement and the demoralizing influence of wars (which make no distinction on account of race, color or religion) has driven them to this last stand. In 1795 they were reported to be all Christians and fairly well civilized. The Oneidas came from central New York in 1823, with their missionary, Eleazar Williams, to the same region and have continued as a Christian colony near Keshena agency under the care of the Protestant Episcopal church.

The story of the first impulse to Indian missions among the Methodists in the United States belongs to this period. It is thus reported:

"John Stewart, a colored man living in Marietta, Ohio,

about 1820, felt impressed it was his duty to go on some divine mission, which he did not comprehend, to the thinly settled country in the northwestern part of the state. When he reached the vicinity of Sandusky, he found the Wyandotte tribe of Indians, and felt the same strange impression that he should stop there. The Indians gathered round him but could not talk with him. At length they remembered that there was a man of his color residing among them, and they brought Jonathan Painter to him. As soon as they met they knew they were of the same race and spoke to each other in English. Stewart learned that Jonathan ran away from Kentucky some ten years before; that he had been a Methodist but had lost his religion and become a savage, and spoke their language fluently.

"'God,' said Stewart to Jonathan, 'has sent you here to assist me in what I feel is my mission. I must preach the Gospel to these Indians to-morrow, and you must be my interpreter.'

"The tears gushed out of Jonathan's eyes, as he asked, 'How can I interpret the Gospel to the Indians when I have no religion myself?'

"'You must get religion to-night,' answered Stewart, 'for, to-morrow, I must preach to these people and you must interpret.' All that night Jonathan wrestled with God in prayer, and Stewart helped him, and the next day they opened the kingdom of God to the Indians." (Quoted in *The Missionary Herald*.)

Up to the nineteenth century the progress of Christian work among Indians in the United States had been constantly thwarted and destroyed by the ruthless struggle for control between England, France and Spain, and the aggressions of the colonists in their own personal interests. Except for occasional appropriations from the colonial governments for mission work among Indians, as for the support of John Eliot and others, there was no government policy except to employ the Indians as allies in war against rival powers, and to destroy them when they were suspected of sympathy with the opposite side. At first General Washington and the Revolutionary armies hesitated to call on the Indians for help

against the British, but in the end both sides employed them. They were "effectives" for fighting, and consideration of their Christianization and civilization had to be thrown overboard as excess baggage. The War of 1812 also involved much use of Indian fighters with consequent demoralization of Christian work. Even down to the Civil War, military necessity justified the instigation of massacre and pillage by Indians against white settlers, and for a time paralyzed mission work in many sections. It is impossible to understand the history of Christian missions among the Indians without recognizing how the growing tree has been repeatedly blasted, and burned to the very root by the conflagration of war. It is a notable evidence of the power of the Gospel that life has persisted in the root.

III

AMONG INDIANS IN THE SOUTH

THE first third of the nineteenth century marked a crisis in governmental relations with the Indians and in Christian work among them. The policy of Indian consolidation west of the Mississippi, to clear the central and southern part of the country for white settlers, began to take definite shape in consequence of the Georgia compact of 1802. The Federal government, on account of the cession of lands in the present states of Alabama and Mississippi, had agreed to extinguish at its own expense the Indian title to lands within the reserved limits of Georgia as soon as it could be done peaceably and on reasonable terms. This seemed to be more necessary because the powerful Cherokee nation, as well as the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles held large areas in the territory between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi, and from the Ohio River to the Gulf Coast and Florida. They maintained separate administration of their tribal affairs, having treaties with the Federal government, and refusing to recognize in any way the authority of the states.

The purchase of Louisiana, which at that time included territory west of the Mississippi extending clear to the Canadian boundary, suggested to President Thomas Jefferson a method of avoiding Indian wars. If the Indians could be moved westward the continual encroachment on Indian lands would supposedly cease. No one imagined at the beginning of the nineteenth century that there would be any considerable white settlement west of the Mississippi, just as sixty years later in the North it was taken for granted that

no one would be foolish enough to want land beyond the Missouri, and the great territories of Dakota and Montana could be safely set aside for the Sioux Indians.

The Federal government at the beginning of the nineteenth century had gone thus far in the formulation of an Indian policy. Indian wars were a very great drain on the treasury of the United States; some way must be found to make room for the white settlers without the continual danger and expense of collision with their Indian neighbors. Even at the beginning of the century Indian wars were recognized as expensive and inefficient for the purposes sought, without regard to any ethical considerations involved. The practice of solemn treaty making by the United States with wandering tribes of Indians loosely organized, and incapable of guaranteeing what was promised, led in the end to such graft, trickery and disregard of right and justice by representatives of the government that the whole system of treaty making became ridiculous. This was a tragedy to the Indians in many cases;—but the fatal mistake, not corrected in government policy until 1869, was in attempting to treat with these Indians as separate nations instead of as individuals whose rights as human beings any civilized government was bound to respect.

The opening of the nineteenth century was also the beginning of systematic, organized Christian work by the churches among Indians in the United States. Up to 1800, Protestant Christian effort for these people had been largely the result of individual consecration and initiative. Catholic Indian missions have from the beginning been the special projects of a particular order or society rather than the obligation of the Roman Catholic church as a whole.

Too much cannot be said of the devotion and heroism of the many noble men and women who went into the wilderness and gave their lives in service for Indians and pioneer settlers, often without any guaranteed support, laboring with their own hands while they taught their Indian and white neighbors and prepared the way by exploration and opening

of communications for the new era that was soon to come. Avoiding the mistakes of government agents, they came as friends and neighbors to the Indians, not as diplomatic representatives seeking to drive sharp bargains for an alien government. Without definitely formulating a policy these Christian pioneers in the Indian country were actually practicing the policy of Christian assimilation, working out a method by which whites and Indians could live together in harmony, mutually sharing in the benefits of the land and sharing also in the obligations of a Christian society. It has taken a long time for people generally to come to this point of view as the only real solution of our Indian problem.

The American Board and other missionary agencies were organized in the early years of the nineteenth century. Missions among the American Indians were for many years a major part of their activities though these boards were primarily for foreign missions. A large volume published in 1848 on "American Missions among the Heathen" is mainly taken up with the activities of Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists among the Indians. In 1820 one-half of the missionaries and nearly half the expenditures of the American Board were employed among the Indians of North America. From this time on the missions were more systematically planned and continuously supported. Though many Christian workers went out with little if any guaranteed income, there was from this time on a growing sense of responsibility among the churches, and a corresponding feeling among the missionaries that they had the moral backing of their fellow-Christians in older sections of the country.

Accordingly, there grew up, along with the governmental policy of pushing the Indians across the Mississippi, a Christian public sentiment which began to undertake responsibilities for them, and plans to help them. This was a plant of slow growth. The noxious weeds of greed and jealousy among the white settlers on the frontier shot up into such strength and size that it seemed all good results would be

lost. But in a comparatively few years, from 1817, when Cyrus Kingsbury began work among the Cherokees on the border between Tennessee and Georgia, until 1837, when at last this tribe were forced to leave their homes for the West, results were accomplished which can hardly be paralleled in any foreign mission.

The plan of operation at the first mission station, called Brainerd, on the southern border of Tennessee, near the present Chattanooga, was to establish schools in different parts of the tribe under missionary direction and superintendence, to teach common school learning and the useful arts of life and Christianity, and gradually to make the whole tribe English in language, civilized in habits and Christian in religion. There was a rapid and general response to the efforts of the workers. The government gave cordial approval to the undertaking and promised help. In 1819 the President of the United States himself visited the mission and was loud in his appreciation of all that was being done. Walker's "Torch-lights among the Cherokees" gives an interesting picture of this early mission station, now chiefly remembered by the place name, Missionary Ridge, on the heights near Chattanooga.

A second station, named Eliot, also in memory of the early New England missionaries to the Indians, was established among the Choctaws about the center of the present state of Mississippi. The Indians in what is now Tennessee and Georgia under the leadership of the missionaries made remarkable progress toward civilization. In 1820 they adopted a regular form of government modeled on that of the United States. Laws and courts of justice were established. Drunkenness and infanticide were forbidden. An alphabet was invented by a half-breed Cherokee named George Guess, or Sequoyah. It was enthusiastically accepted by the people and very largely used so that in three years' time about half the tribe were able to read their own language. Sequoyah's unique achievement was recognized by the United States government

by the granting of a medal and an appropriation of \$500. His portrait was painted and is in Washington, and a statue was placed in Statuary Hall of the United States Capitol by the state of Oklahoma.

By 1824 parts of the Bible had been printed in the Cherokee language, missionaries of the American Board securing in Boston the type to set up the new alphabetic system. In 1828 *The Cherokee Phoenix*, a weekly newspaper in Cherokee and English, and official organ of the Cherokee government, began publication at New Echota, the capital of the nation. It continued until 1835, when it was suppressed by the state of Georgia, and the Cherokee government was broken up by the ruthless aggressions of the Georgia settlers. The great mass of these progressive and largely Christianized people were compelled to take the "trail of tears" to distant territory across the Mississippi promised them by the government.

Congregationalists and Presbyterians working through the American Board were not alone in this missionary effort among the Cherokees and the other tribes living near them in the South, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks and Seminoles, later known as the Five Civilized Tribes. Baptists began missions among the Cherokees in 1820, at first through an independent organization, the Indian Mission Association under the leadership of Isaac McCoy, and through local Baptist associations under whom Evan Jones began his great work. In 1825 they had six workers at a station in the southwest corner of North Carolina. A remnant of the Cherokee nation still remains in that region having fled into the heart of the Great Smoky Mountains rather than yield to the pressure of the drive across the Mississippi. In 1831 Baptists had three stations among the Cherokees and one station among the Creeks. Isaac McCoy was a trusted agent and advisor of the United States government in its plans for the removal of the Indians to the west. He favored it because he hoped for the establishment of a great Indian confederacy which should be protected by the United States in their ex-

clusive possession of the western area which was being set apart for them.

The Methodist Episcopal churches began a mission among the Creeks in 1821 with three workers. Later they opened a station among the Cherokees, employing the services of four missionaries, who had great success in gathering the Indians into church membership, and who exercised a large influence upon the people of the Cherokee nation in the negotiations concerning removal west of the Mississippi. In 1834 the missionary society of the Methodist church had under its care twenty-five missionaries and sixteen teachers among the Indians.

Moravians were the first to begin missions among the Cherokees in 1801. Several years later another station was opened, but the work was never extensive. The Cumberland Presbyterians also had a school among the Chickasaws. The Presbyterian churches were already, before 1830, considering independent work for Indians through their local presbyteries and had received an endowment fund of \$6,000 for Indian education. The bulk of the work, however, was done under the American Board. Its budget in 1828 was over \$100,000, that of the Baptist Board \$15,000, and of the Methodists \$6,000. In 1831 there was record of nearly forty-five hundred Indians who had been received into the churches of the American Board, and a total of twenty-seven stations among the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks and Osages, including those west of the Mississippi, with twenty-one missionaries and ninety-nine teachers, doctors, farmers and mechanics.

It is hard to select from the voluminous and reliable records any one statement to indicate the change in the condition of these Indians during the comparatively short period of missionary effort. It is said of one of the stations among the Choctaws:

“Most of these families previous to their coming together

were wanderers, without industry, property or character. For the last two years, they have excluded whisky entirely from their settlement, have built comfortable houses and possess fields in which they raise a good supply of corn and other vegetables."

As to the progress of the Indians, we need not depend merely upon reports by missionaries. The Secretary of War, in President Monroe's Cabinet, reported:

"Schools have been established. They [the Indians] have been persuaded to abandon the chase, to locate themselves and become custodians of the soil; implements of husbandry and domestic animals have been presented to them. Some of them have reclaimed the forest, planted their orchards and erected houses not only for their abode but for the administration of justice and religious worship." (Abel, in "History of Events Resulting in Consolidation West of the Mississippi," p. 366.)

One of the early converts of the Brainerd Mission, David Brown, wrote in February, 1825, about the condition of his people:

"These plains furnish immense pasturage; numberless herds of cattle are dispersed over them. Horses are plenty. Numerous flocks of sheep, goats and swine cover the valleys and hills. In the plains and valleys the soil is generally rich, producing Indian corn, cotton, tobacco, wheat, oats, indigo, sweet and Irish potatoes. The natives carry on considerable trade with the adjoining states, and some of them export cotton in boats down to New Orleans. Apple and peach orchards are quite common and gardens are cultivated. Butter and cheese are seen on Cherokee tables. There are many public roads in the nation. Numerous and flourishing villages are seen in every section of the country. Cotton and woolen clothes are manufactured. Blankets of various dimensions, manufactured by Cherokee hands, are very common. Nearly all the merchants in the nation are native Cherokees. Agricultural pursuits, the most solid foundation of our national prosperity, engage the chief attention of the people. Different branches in mechanics are pursued."

As to the moral and religious condition of the people, David Brown continues:

“The Christian religion is the religion of the nation. Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists and Moravians are the most numerous sects. Some of the most influential Cherokees are members of the church, and live consistently with their profession. Schools are increasing every year; learning is encouraged and rewarded. The younger class acquire the English and those of mature age the Cherokee system of learning.”

It is interesting to note the sense of national pride which animated this Cherokee Indian in speaking of his own people:

“Our relations with all nations, savage or civilized, are of the most friendly character [he says]. We are out of debt, and our public revenue is in a flourishing condition. Besides the amount arising from imports, a perpetual annuity is due from the United States, in consideration of lands ceded in former periods. Our system of government, founded on republican principles, by which justice is equally distributed, secures the respect of the people. The legislative power is vested in a national committee and council. In the capital of the nation a printing press is soon to be established, also a national library and a museum.”

The sister of this Indian patriot was Catharine Brown, the first convert of the American Board mission at Brainerd, whose memoirs, published about the end of 1824, was one of the well-known missionary books of the first half of the nineteenth century. Born of parents who knew no English and had no knowledge of Christianity, she became an earnest and devoted Christian of an unusually spiritual nature, as indicated by many letters that have been preserved. She began a school for girls at a new station of the mission, in a building erected by the Indians themselves. She was the means of winning all the members of her family to faith in Christ.

Although there is good reason to suppose that the intention

of the presidents of the United States and their cabinet officers up to about 1820 was to treat the Indians fairly, the increasing pressure of white settlers into the states of the South and Middle West forced upon the attention of the Federal government questions of adjustment and an extinguishment of Indian titles to the land in favor of those who would use it more effectively. Where land outside the present limits of the original thirteen states was ceded to the Federal government, its agents, under the Secretary of War, could arrange directly with the Indians for purchase of parts of their territory for white settlers. But the agreement with Georgia, under which the state claimed exclusive authority over a large and well-populated Indian country, seriously embarrassed the Federal government, because the people and state officers were unwilling to wait for the development of a general policy in the matter, and insisted on clearing their territory of Indians or subjecting them to the laws of the state, without, however, giving them any representation in the government.

As the influence on the Federal government of Western and Southern pioneers grew stronger, the mild humanitarian ideas of Jefferson began to give way to the aggressive methods of Andrew Jackson who introduced the policy of force. Jackson was the first representative of the expanding frontier to reach the Presidency. Himself a pioneer, with all the harshness and prejudice of the frontiersman, he allowed himself to be the agent of the new settlers in driving back the Indian. Dr. Abel, in her work mentioned above, says of him:

“Jackson was essentially a Western man with Western ideas anxious for Western development, no real friend of the Indians. The enemies of the Indians were invariably to be found among his strongest supporters. His opinions carried weight with the War Department, and for ten years he and his friends managed to secure most of the Indian patronage.”

While the rush of pioneering in all the Middle West was gradually pushing out the Indians and driving them further

west, the greatest strain in this process of expatriation was in the territory occupied by the Cherokees and claimed by the state of Georgia. Some of the plans of the Federal government involved concentration of the Indians in two centers, northern Wisconsin and an Indian territory west of the Mississippi. A plan might have been worked out for a great Indian state, bringing together all the remnants of Eastern tribes, with its own government, and with representation in the Congress of the United States, if it had not been for insistence by the politicians of Georgia that their land must be promptly cleared, no matter how.

The discovery of gold in the Cherokee country in 1830 greatly increased the cupidity of the white settlers and their impatience. Laws were passed by the Georgia legislature in the effort to carry out their purposes, but these were declared to be unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. The ruthlessness with which the state of Georgia pushed its campaign to be rid of the Indians is indicated by the following paragraph from the *Augusta Chronicle*, quoted in *The Cherokee Phoenix* of August 12, 1829: "If they [the Indians] persist in it [their opposition to removal] then utter annihilation will be the consequence."

The missionaries, who had seen the remarkable cultural progress of these Indians within a quarter of a century, were naturally averse to plans which they correctly surmised would not only involve the ruin of much of the material achievement of Christian missions, but also result in a disintegration of that character which was slowly being built up under the influence of Christian institutions. They were not alone in fearing these consequences of the selfish policy of the whites. Secretary Barbour, in President Monroe's Cabinet, wrote:

"They [Cherokee Indians] have been persuaded to abandon the chase, to locate themselves and become cultivators of the soil. Yielding to these solicitations, some of them have reclaimed the forest, planted their orchards and erected houses, not only for their abode but for the administration of

justice and for religious worship. And when they have so done, you send your agent to tell them they must surrender their country to the white man and re-commit themselves to some new desert, and substitute, as the means of their subsistence, the precarious chase for the certainty of cultivation."

In Congress, where a bill came up in 1830 for wholesale removal of the Indians, Storrs of New York exposed the fallacy of pretending to remove the Indians for their own good from a community where they had pleasant homes, churches and schools to a wilderness where roamed hostile tribes scarcely emerged from savagery.

Some of the missionaries, notably the Baptist Isaac McCoy, and many of the Baptists in the North under his leadership, cherishing the dream of a great Indian State west of the Mississippi, favored removal, and were active in negotiations with the government. Several of the Methodist missionaries assisted a group of the Indians in attempting to secure better terms for a complete withdrawal from their lands. Dr. Abel (p. 377) says concerning the attitude of the churches generally:

"The Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, as church organizations, kept well out of the matter, the Methodists were divided, but the Quakers and the Congregationalists stood forth bravely as champions of Indian rights."

The Georgia legislature and their supporters in Washington recognized that the missionaries generally were an obstacle to the carrying out of their plans and "reported against the civilization of the Indians because its tendencies were to make them opposed to emigration" (Abel, p. 69). The Secretary of War advised withdrawing all national support from Indian missionary establishments in the East; and making it conditional on removal. At one time, there was strong effort in Congress to withhold the meager annual appropriation of ten thousand dollars for the civilization of the Indians, which

was all that the Federal government allowed for Indian education until 1873.

When the Indians were forced to sign the treaties for removal, in 1831, a report in *The Missionary Herald* (December, 1831) tells how seriously these conditions affected the missionary work:

"The old men sat in council mourning over their fate from Monday morning until Tuesday night. They sat and talked all night long. They had thought for years past that there would be no hope for them only by their conduct pleasing the white people so well that they would not wish them to move away. This they had endeavored to do, had made up their minds to encourage schools, attend to agriculture, and examine the religion of the Bible; but they now saw that it would be all in vain. They said the President had offered to build them schoolhouses and a meeting house beyond the Mississippi, but if they went they should abandon the whole, build their own council house, and worship the Great Spirit in their own way."

The Cherokee Phoenix made repeated and elaborate protests against the plan of the state of Georgia. A file of this remarkable paper is preserved in the Huntington Library in Southern California. In an editorial on August 19, 1829, the editor, Elias Boudinot, a full-blooded Indian, says:

"With the high and exalted ideas entertained by the Cherokees of their national character, they never can consent to be disfranchised and scattered like vagrants, relying for protection only on the tender mercies of their persecutors. Better at once to oppose themselves to this systematic usurpation and relying on the justice of their cause to resist to the last all invasions of their country and their homes. They have everything which can animate them to resist—on one side exile and extirpation, on the other their continuance as a civilized people. If necessary let them resist to the death. Better, a thousand times better, would be the quiet of the grave than protracting a miserable existence rendered wretched by repeated and compulsory removals into the wilderness before the advancing footsteps of the more power-

ful people who occupy their country and treat its ancient possessors with persecution and heartless contempt. Tantalized with the hopes of civilization which they are forbidden to realize, deprived of the hard vigor of the savage state, and then called upon to relinquish the comforts of their impoverished condition, if driven beyond the Mississippi, they must share the fate of a race which seems doomed to be scattered by every blast."

The missionaries could not well ignore or oppose the desire of the Indians to retain their homes and their institutions. So the conflict between them and the state of Georgia became more serious. When the whole body of missionaries within the Cherokee country met at the capital of the Cherokee nation, New Echota, and declared in a series of resolutions their conviction that the Cherokees as a people were averse to emigration, and that the extension of state control over their territory would work an immense and irreparable injury, they were speedily called upon by the governor of Georgia to either retract or remove from the country. Finally four missionaries of the American Board and two Methodist missionaries with seven other white men working among the Cherokees, were arrested, released, again arrested, held chained in prison for many days, finally brought to trial, convicted and sentenced to four years of hard labor. The missionaries were dragged from their homes in chains, one a physician being chained by the neck to the saddle of a horse, and compelled to walk alongside through the darkness over a wilderness road till the horse stumbled and fell on him.

All but two of the missionaries finally accepted pardon by taking the oath of citizenship in the state of Georgia, and giving up their opposition to the policy of the state. Worcester and Butler of the American Board appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, which denied the jurisdiction of the courts of Georgia over the Cherokee country; but the decision was ignored and flouted by the governor of the state. After sixteen months' imprisonment in the penitentiary at

Milledgeville, Georgia, these two missionaries decided to accept pardon, being convinced that nothing further was to be gained by continued protest.

Results of the driving out of the missionaries from the Cherokee country and substitution of state government instead of the self-government of the Indians were what had been all along expected. One missionary wrote in 1831: "I view the removal of the Cherokees as the precursor to a serious if not entire and fatal interruption of their progress in civilization and religion." A prominent citizen of Missouri quoted in *The Cherokee Phoenix* of August 12, 1829, said of those who had migrated across the Mississippi: "The Indians are prostrate and crushed." In *The Missionary Herald* of December, 1832, it is said: "A demoralizing influence has been exerted by the intrusion of abandoned white men and the sale of intoxicating liquors through all that part of the nation claimed by Georgia and where the laws of the Cherokees have been rendered inoperative." Direct effects on missionary work are thus described: "While good people are tempted to withhold their assistance, the Indians are tempted to swear eternal enmity to religion as well as to those who profess to be its followers."

The migration of the Cherokee Indians, when at last they were forced to leave their homes, could not be made in a single body. Many groups of less than a hundred started under their clan leaders, abandoning most of their property. The last of the Cherokee nation were finally escorted west by the military forces of General Scott. Schmeckebier, in "Office of Indian Affairs," p. 36, says concerning this forced removal by the army of nine thousand soldiers: "The Indians were rounded up and placed in stockades, their property being sold for little or nothing to the Georgians who followed in the wake of the troops. It should be borne in mind that they were not blanket Indians, but a people who had been civilized to a large extent, who were generally agriculturists, and who lived in homes which were probably as well appointed as

those of the frontier settlers." Rev. Evan Jones, one of the Baptist missionaries, gives the following contemporary account of conditions (*Baptist Missionary Magazine*, 1838, pp. 136-7):

"The Cherokees are nearly all prisoners. They have been dragged from their houses and encamped at the forts and military posts all over the nation. In Georgia especially multitudes were allowed no time to take anything with them except the clothes they had on. Well furnished houses were left a prey to plunderers who, like hungry wolves, followed in the train of the captors. These wretches rifle the houses and strip the helpless, unoffending owners of all they have on earth. Females who have been habituated to comforts and comparative affluence are driven on foot before the bayonets of brutal men. . . . Many of the Cherokees, who a few days ago were in comfortable circumstances, are now victims of abject poverty. Some who have been allowed to return home under passport to inquire after their property have found their cattle, horses, swine, farming tools and house furniture all gone. . . . The work of war in time of peace is commenced in the Georgia part of the Cherokee nation, and is carried on, in most cases, in the most unfeeling and brutal manner, no regard being paid to the orders of the commanding general in regard to humane treatment of the Indians."

James Mooney, of the Smithsonian Institution, in the Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1898, quotes one of the Georgia volunteers who assisted in this peacetime enterprise: "I fought through the Civil War and have seen men shot to pieces and slaughtered by thousands, but the Cherokee removal was the cruelest work I ever knew."

The removal began early in June, 1837, and about five thousand were transported down the Tennessee and Ohio Rivers to the western bank of the Mississippi, whence they made the remainder of the journey by land. The mortality was so great that the council of the Cherokee nation urged that further emigration be deferred until autumn, and that the remainder be allowed to move themselves. About twelve

thousand started in October, most of them going all the way overland. The Indians themselves organized this expedition, and it was apparently accomplished in a systematic and orderly manner. However they did not reach their new lands until the next March, having experienced considerable difficulty in crossing the Mississippi on account of the ice.

It is authoritatively stated that in the various migrations a quarter to a half of all who left their homes died on the way or soon after arrival. But the white people of Georgia had secured what they wanted, and the Federal government was relieved for a time from the continual pressure of this problem. President Van Buren says in his biography, Vol. 2, p. 295, "The Indians had been removed beyond the bad influences inevitable from association and contention with white men." This pretended concern for the interests of the Indians was characteristic of much of the talk of men most actively engaged in driving them from their good homes and cultivated fields into the wilderness. The rankling memory of this injustice was probably a "bad influence," hindering the further work of Christian missionaries, greater than the worst that had occurred in their homes east of the Mississippi.

One does not need to be a missionary or committed to the work of Christianizing the Indians to agree emphatically with the statement of Albert Vincent Kidder (quoted in Coolidge, "The Rain Makers," p. 15): "It is the tragedy of native American history that so much human effort has come to naught, and that so many hopeful experiments in life and living were cut short by the devastating blight of the white man's arrival."

IV

IN THE OREGON COUNTRY

THE purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon in 1802, and Jefferson's vision of the future expansion of the United States to the Pacific Coast opened the way to another significant chapter in the history of Christian work among American Indians. In his first year as President, Jefferson secured an appropriation of just \$2,500 from Congress to send forty men from the Missouri River to the Pacific Coast and return.

On that memorable and epic journey across the Rocky Mountains to the mouth of the Columbia River Lewis and Clark secured the help of a French-Canadian interpreter and his wife, an Indian slave girl from across the mountains. The loyalty and resourcefulness of Sacajawea, the Bird Woman, whose knowledge of the passes and of the Indian tribes beyond probably saved the expedition from failure and destruction, is commemorated by a statue in a public park in Portland, Oregon.

There seems to be a well-authenticated story that the leaders of this expedition told the Indians of the Nez Perces and other tribes in western Montana, Idaho and eastern Washington, often called Flatheads, about the white man's religion and the white man's "Book of Heaven." Thirty years later these Indians sent four of their number to St. Louis, where Clark was governor of Missouri, in an effort to find and bring back the book. Governor Clark entertained the Indian representatives, showed them the white man's ways, taking them to the theater, to the dance hall and the Roman Catholic church, of which he was a member. The report, as it has come down to us, is that they were disap-

pointed, and returned to their people, only one survivor reaching the tribe. George Catlin, the noted painter of Indian life, heard this story, and after verifying it by correspondence with Governor Clark, published the news and the challenge to the world. (Reported in *The Advance* [Chicago], Dec. 1, 1879.)

Naturally this story made a great impression. The Methodists were the first to respond to this Macedonian cry. In 1835 they sent Jason Lee and his nephew with two other men as missionaries to the Flathead Indians. At the annual rendezvous of Indians and trappers high in the Rocky Mountains Lee and his companions found a company of Nez Percés, who had apparently been awaiting some response to their appeal. The missionaries decided to push on toward the Pacific Coast, and finally established mission work in the Willamette Valley, near the present site of Salem, Oregon. They were told that it was too dangerous to establish a mission among the interior tribes, and advised to settle nearer the protection of the Hudson's Bay fort, and in the fertile valleys where agriculture was easier. From the standpoint of a permanent settlement, this was wise, but already the Indian population was dwindling, and very soon after the coming of the missionaries the opportunity for Indian missions in that section was practically gone.

The Reformed Church in America also resolved to establish a mission among the Indians in the Pacific Northwest, and entrusted to the American Board, then an interdenominational agency, the charge of this enterprise. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman went out in the spring of 1835, and met the Indians at the annual rendezvous near Green River, Wyoming. After consultation it was agreed that a mission ought to be established, and Dr. Whitman returned East to report and secure workers. Toward the close of that year Parker visited the Methodist Mission on the Willamette, and reported the establishment of schools and the interest of the Indians. In 1836 Whitman and Spalding and their wives

and W. H. Gray reached the Hudson's Bay Company post near Walla Walla, Washington, and began work among the Cayuse Indians there and the Nez Percés, at Lapwai, near the present site of Lewiston, Idaho.

The famous Belgian Jesuit, Peter de Smet, began work among the Flathead Indians of Montana in 1839. After 1844 he and his associates pushed westward into the field occupied by Whitman, Spalding and their fellow-workers. There were active negotiations by the Jesuits to buy the Whitman mission station only a short time before the terrible massacre of 1847 in which the mission was wiped out.

William E. Strong ("Story of the American Board"), speaking of the bitter experiences of the missionaries among the Cherokees in their difficulties with the state of Georgia, and of the complications of the work among the Sioux, due to the coming in of white settlers in Minnesota, has this to say about the reasons for starting a mission across the Rocky Mountains:

"The unhappy experience of trying to work for Indians just where they met the tide of white emigration prompted the desire to open a mission beyond the frontier where the missionaries might escape its influence for evil."

The irony of fate made this new mission under Whitman and Spalding and the mission of the Methodists under Jason Lee particularly subject to embarrassment from this very cause. Hines says:

"It chanced that more than in any other part of the world the missionary history of the Pacific Northwest was its civil history also for the first decade and a half after the American people began settlement in it" (pp. 11-12, "Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest").

For a number of years there had been a contest as to sovereignty over the Oregon country. Great Britain and the United States were supposed to share equally in the rights of

exploitation. Efforts were made to convince people in the East and in Great Britain that the country was worthless and impossible of settlement. But in spite of propaganda immigration began, and the Hudson's Bay Company sought to forestall occupation by settlers from the United States by bringing in French Canadians and encouraging Jesuit priests to plant their stations throughout the country. The Jesuit missions seemed less likely to materially alter the life of the Indians on which the trading companies depended for their supplies of furs. Bishop Bashford in "The Oregon Missions" (p. 53), says, concerning the London directors of the Hudson's Bay Company:

"They encouraged the Roman Catholic priests to go among the Indians and baptize them in order that the children of the forest might attain felicity in another world; but they did not plan that the Indians should reach civilization in this world."

The present strong anti-Catholic feeling in Oregon probably has its roots in the struggle for political and religious control of the Northwest in which the Jesuits had such a large part. There might have been a possibility of their dominating the Pacific Northwest, as they did the Spanish colony of Paraguay a hundred years earlier, if the way had not been opened, largely through the influence of Jason Lee and Marcus Whitman and their fellow-missionaries, for a wholesome tide of immigration into the Oregon country from the eastern states. Dr. Whitman employed many of the destitute and way-worn emigrants to help the Indians in breaking up and fencing their lands. The Indians had abundance of horses and were increasing their harvests of grain, so that they could pay for the white man's labor in what he needed most, with mutual advantage.

Apart from the work of the priests and the Protestant missionaries in evangelizing and civilizing the Indians, there was at this time a swiftly developing drama of conflict for the

occupation and control of the Northwest Territory. The missionaries were drawn into it. Whitman was a physician and a leader of men, as well as a missionary. Jason Lee was an organizer and builder of institutions. Whitman's medical skill and his executive ability were of great value to the traders and the emigrants, whom he led across the mountains in successive companies. It was perhaps inevitable that the mission stations of Whitman and Lee should become supply stations for hundreds and thousands of incoming settlers.

Grose, in his biography of Bishop Bashford, says: "Jason Lee and Marcus Whitman went to Oregon not as pioneers to develop a new country, but as missionaries to convert the American Indian to Christianity. They soon discovered their larger task of laying the foundations of a great Christian empire." It is well to remember the significance which colonization has frequently had in the Christianization of mission fields. Sometimes it has seemed to destroy Christian beginnings among a native people, and again it has seemed to lay firmer foundations for a Christian civilization into which the native races would gradually adjust themselves.

There is little doubt that the mission boards did not quite approve the rôle of empire builders for their missionaries in the Pacific Northwest and frowned upon some of their political activities. The Indian missions of both the Methodists and the American Board were begun with enthusiasm and great spiritual anticipations. But the small number of the Indians of the Pacific Northwest, after the devastating epidemics which swept over them as a result of contacts with traders by sea and the trappers and settlers from the East, did not provide the expected great field for Christian work. It was also difficult to raise missionary money for those who were essentially settlers in the new country, and to find men and women who would be devoted missionaries as well as hard-working pioneer farmers.

Whether Whitman's famous winter ride from the Columbia at Fort Walla Walla to the Missouri at St. Louis by way of

the Spanish settlements at Santa Fe, New Mexico, was really the deciding factor in postponing the Oregon treaty which would have yielded the country to England is perhaps an academic question. There were many other factors involved. We know that at the close of 1836, six years before Whitman started, the Americans in the Willamette Valley, that is, the members of the Methodist mission, sent by the hands of an officer of the navy a petition asking the United States government to recognize and extend over Oregon the protection of its laws. (Hines' "History of the Pacific Northwest," p. 111.) Also that Jason Lee himself went back East in the spring of 1838, and presented a memorial to Congress to the same effect. The Whitman station of the American Board and that of Spalding among the Nez Perces had been ordered closed in the early autumn of 1842. Dr. Whitman hastened to go East to plead for a reconsideration of the Board's vote. He interested great numbers of people in the possibilities of the Oregon country and in 1843 demonstrated against violent counter propaganda that it was practicable for settlers to get through the mountains with their cattle, their wagons and their plows, and engage in agriculture in the rich country beyond.

During 1843, President Tyler recommended to Congress that "our laws should follow the emigrant, since new republics are destined to spring up on the shores of the Pacific." In July of that year the Americans in Oregon with the help of Jason Lee, and while Marcus Whitman was leading out his company, had already formed a provisional government and raised the American flag, "pending such time as the United States of America extend jurisdiction over us." When the Americans in California only three years later raised the Bear Flag at Sonoma, and proclaimed their independence of Mexico, the predictions of President Tyler had a notable fulfilment.

In tracing the history of the Pacific Northwest, during those critical years when the question of sovereignty and the

value for settlement of the region was being decided, our chief concern in this study is with the missionary results among the Indians of the work of those pioneer Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian missionaries. The place in history of Lee and Whitman is secure, whatever may be said of their comparative influence in the saving and the making of Oregon. But in some respects their Indian missions, the prime object for which they were sent out, and which had so aroused the enthusiasm of the American churches, seemed to the missionary boards, to some of the workers themselves and to many contemporary observers and later historians to have been a comparative failure. As already noted, the American Board ordered the closing of the stations occupied by Whitman and Spalding. The Methodist board superseded Jason Lee without a hearing, and his successor closed all the mission work and disposed of the mission property.

It is easy, in view of the failure to establish a permanent Christianized Indian community, to forget the many individual successes of the missions, and the very considerable, even if temporary, amelioration of the condition of the Indians. In 1837, only two years after the establishment of the Methodist mission, Lieutenant Slocum of the United States Navy wrote to Jason Lee:

"I have seen with my own eyes children who two years ago were roaming in their native wilds, in a state of savage barbarism, now being brought within the knowledge of moral and religious instruction, becoming useful members of society by being taught the most useful of all the arts, agriculture, and all this without the slightest compulsion."

It adds much to the value of this testimony to know that it was accompanied by a gift of fifty dollars.

In 1839, three years after the arrival of Whitman, a visitor reports that he had fenced his land, put it under cultivation, built houses and mills, planted an orchard, learned the language, besides serving as physician to the other stations

at Clearwater and Spokane. Sir George Simpson, governor in chief of the Hudson's Bay Company territories, in his "Journey round the World," mentions visiting Whitman's station, and says concerning the Methodist mission at The Dalles: "We were much pleased with the progress that had been made in three years." Fremont, in his "Narrative," p. 249, under date of 1843, says: "Passing on the way several unfinished houses and some cleared patches where corn and potatoes were cultivated, we reached the missionary establishment of Dr. Whitman. . . . A small town of Nez Perce Indians gave an inhabited and even populous appearance to the station." In 1841 a member of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition reported that the premises of the Whitman mission were comfortable, the garden especially fine, the fields producing great crops. He especially praises the work of Spalding among the Nez Percés. (Wilkes Report, vol. 4, pp. 460-65.)

But he notes that the Indians were of a roving habit, rarely staying at home more than three months at a time, not more than fifty or sixty remaining near the station during the winter. It was such statements as these, and similar notes about the Indians in the Willamette Valley, where the Methodist work was located, that probably influenced both the Methodist board and the American Board to doubt the wisdom of continuing the missions. Sir George Simpson also refers to the growing strain between the Indians and the missionaries. He says, "Journey," vol. 1, p. 162: "One of the Cayuses had a short time previously assaulted Dr. Whitman by pointing his own gun against his breast."

One of the notable converts baptized in the Methodist mission at The Dalles, Oregon, accompanied Fremont on his second exploring expedition, after Fremont had visited the Methodist mission in the autumn of 1843. (Fremont's "Narrative," p. 273.) This man remained a faithful Christian till his death in 1894. Another Indian Christian was the son of one of the most renowned chiefs of the Walla Walla Indians.

He was a good interpreter, and was invited with his father to visit the white settlers at Sutter's Fort in California, where gold was discovered only a few years later. The brutal murder of this Indian Christian by a white man at Sutter's Fort was one of the reasons that led to the Whitman massacre. Another Indian boy accompanied Jason Lee on his first return to the East, and assisted him in his appeal to the public on behalf of the Oregon Indians. Hines, in his "Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest," mentions these Indian Christians and says (pp. 169-179) that he "has personally known, since 1870, at least a score who were yet steadfast in the faith and experience of the Gospel." These are all illustrations from the work of the Methodist mission, which to so many had seemed utterly barren of spiritual results in the conversion of the Indians.

Myron Eells, in his biography of his father, an associate of Whitman, reports on the work of the missions:

"In 1837, as soon as a school was opened at Lapwai, Mr. Spalding wrote that a hundred, both old and young, were in attendance. In 1839 one hundred and fifty children and as many more adults were in the school. Similar interest was shown in religious instruction. Two years later from a thousand to two thousand gathered for a religious service. Then two thousand made a public confession of sin, and promised to serve God. Among the Cayuses [where Dr. Whitman worked] more were ready to attend the school than the mission family could supply with books or had ability to teach. Morning and evening worship was maintained in all the principal lodges. From eighty to a hundred families planted fields near Mr. Spalding and many near Dr. Whitman raised enough provisions for a comfortable supply for their families. In 1841 saw and grist mills were erected among the Nez Perces, a grist mill among the Cayuses. In 1837 a church was organized and in September, 1838, the first Indian was received into it. In November, 1839, Joseph and Timothy, Nez Perce Indians, were admitted to the church. In the same year the mission received a donation from Rev. H. Bingham's church at Honolulu of a small printing press, with type and paper. A printer came from the Sandwich Islands with the press,

and the first book printed west of the Rocky Mountains, so far as known, was issued that fall in the Nez Perce language, and one in that of the Spokane Indians followed." (See Gulick's "Pilgrims of Hawaii," p. 178.)

In spite of the influence of the missions in developing the material prosperity of the Indians, and the unmistakable moral effect of their teaching, the collision of the old and new ways of life was bound to produce increasing friction and the danger of a catastrophe. The Indians were naturally alarmed at the flood of immigration, and it is not improbable that their fears were encouraged and stimulated by the traders and priests who wanted a free field. When Whitman returned to his station from the East in 1843 with the great company of immigrants whom he had guided across the mountains he reported to the mission board:

"The Indians have succeeded well in cultivating the soil this season: they have never treated me or the mission better than they do now. They have been very kind to the emigrants, notwithstanding the excitement of last winter and spring" [when the mill at the Whitman station had been burned] (*Missionary Herald*, May, 1844).

But the next spring he reported trouble between settlers and Indians, and in January of 1845 writes:

"Jealousy of white people seems to be awakened among the Indians, which may affect the mission unfavorably, as emigrants are entering the country in increasing numbers."

One writer says, apparently without adequate justification, that "after 1843 the work of the Whitman station lost much of its character as an Indian mission. It became rather a resting place and a trading post where the successive immigrations of 1844, '45, '46, and '47 halted for a little recuperation after their long and weary journey." We do not need to assume that the work for the Indians was neglected. The school for the Indian children was in session the afternoon of

the terrible massacre in 1847, when fourteen white persons at the Whitman station were brutally murdered. Christian services for the Indians were being regularly held in the mission church. Dr. Whitman had just conducted an Indian funeral when called in to treat a sick Indian. While administering the medicine he was killed. After his death there was a wholesale slaughter of all white persons found, except a few who were held as captives.

The causes of this massacre were chiefly the superstition of the Cayuse Indians, dread of the terrible epidemics of measles and smallpox, which worked such havoc among the Indians, fear of encroachments by the great immigration of white settlers, and jealousy at their prosperity, due to energetic cultivation of the rich land. Just a short time before the massacre two hundred Indians near the station had died of measles, from infection brought by the newcomers. They suspected that Whitman and other missionaries were importing poison to kill them off. It is probable, also, that the death of Dr. Whitman's little daughter by drowning in 1839 developed a superstitious fear among the Indians who had been particularly fond of the child. After that their general manner toward the mission was plainly changed.

Much controversy has arisen concerning the relation of the Jesuit missionaries to the Whitman massacre and the attempted killing of the other workers at Spalding's station on the Clearwater in Idaho, and the station at The Dalles, on the south bank of the Columbia, which had been taken over from the Methodists. In a defense made by the vicar-general of the Jesuits in the Northwest against the charges of abetting or allowing the massacre he admits that his priests were baptizing Indian children in the neighborhood of the Whitman station at the time the massacre was going on. According to their own statements the priests warned Spalding and enabled him to escape, but apparently acted very discreetly to avoid stirring up attacks upon their own work. They did not actively interfere to prevent the murder of white

men, women and children, and the rape of white women by the Indians, but sought to maintain neutrality until the relief expedition from the Hudson's Bay Company had arrived with reinforcements. One writer says, in a rather weak apology, "These particular priests lacked the commanding courage to rush between warriors and their victims, and with cross upraised order the slaughter stopped." (Laut, "Conquest of our Western Empire," p. 352.)

In spite of the tragic end of the Whitman mission good results of the work there and at Spalding's station cannot be denied. General Joel Palmer, in his history of the Cayuse war which followed the massacre, states that the condition of the Cayuses had been greatly ameliorated, and the improvement was attributable to the work of the missionaries. Dr. Elijah White, government agent for Indian service west of the Rocky Mountains, wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1843, six years after the arrival of Spalding, "Rev. and Mrs. Spalding have a school of some two hundred and twenty-four, in constant attendance, most successfully carried forward, which promises to be of great usefulness to both sexes and all ages." In 1845 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote to the Secretary of War concerning the Indians of the Oregon country:

"The advancement in civilization by the numerous tribes in that remote and hitherto neglected portion of our territory is a matter of surprise. . . . Now, through the benevolent policy of the various Christian churches, and the indefatigable exertions of the missionaries they have prescribed and well-adapted rules for their government, which are observed and respected to a degree worthy the most intelligent whites. They have already advanced (especially among the Nez Perces Nation) to a degree of civilization that promises the most beneficial results."

When Spalding came in 1836 the country was emphatically a wilderness, uncultivated, not a hoe, plow, or hoof of cattle,

the Indians starving on their meager supply of roots and fish, as mentioned in the reports of the Lewis and Clark expedition. When their missionary was compelled to leave in 1847, there were from fifteen to twenty thousand bushels of grain harvested yearly by these Indians, orchards and gardens had been planted, cattle were roving in bands, schools were established in which one to five hundred persons were in daily attendance. Officers of the government testified to these things and stated: "The strong alliance and unwavering friendship of the Nez Perces to the Americans while all the surrounding tribes have been at times hostile and repeatedly in arms against the United States, is clearly attributable to the instruction and influence of Mr. Spalding." These official reports were made only two years before the massacre which resulted in the closing of the mission by government orders.

Reports from Whitman's station show also that the Indians begged him to remain with them, and indicated that their increased prosperity was due to his teaching and help. The outbreak of suspicion and barbarity in the massacre was plainly not the result of mistreatment of Indians by the missionaries, as alleged, but resulted from false stories circulated by interested parties, and to a considerable extent from the activities of an educated Indian, who had been in Dartmouth College and returned, inflamed against all white men because of the treatment of the Eastern tribes. (Laut, p. 347.)

The spiritual results of the mission work among the Oregon Indians of both the Methodist and the American Board missionaries were as evident as the material results, and persisted in spite of the outburst of fear and suspicion. The old Cayuse Indian, Istikus, who warned Whitman the day before the massacre, is reported by an army officer engaged in the punitive expedition to have rung his bell every Sabbath as long as he lived, and to have called his little band together for worship. General Joel Palmer says: "Forty-five Cayuse Indians and a thousand Nez Perces have kept up regular

family and public worship, singing from the Nez Perce hymn-book and reading from the Gospel of Matthew, translated by Mr. Spalding."

The most outstanding triumph of the missionary work of these Oregon missions was among the Nez Percés. Those who planned the massacre of the residents of the Whitman station intended also to murder the missionaries at Lapwai, one hundred and thirty miles away, and would have done so if the missionaries had not been protected by the loyal Indians.

From 1847 to 1858 the region around eastern Washington and southern Idaho was supposed to be closed to missionary work because of the massacre and the subsequent punitive expeditions against the Indian tribes. Jesuit missionaries, however, continued in undisturbed occupation of this field when all Protestant missionaries were driven out, and continued their work during the more than twenty years in which Protestant work in that region was forbidden.

That the effect of Spalding's work was not transitory is indicated by the report of a member of the Oregon Senate who wrote in 1871: "Last year the Nez Percés raised not less than 50,000 bushels of wheat, 10,000 bushels of corn, 10,000 bushels of oats, besides large quantities of potatoes and other vegetables."

Another indication of the permanent results of his work is the attitude of the Indians toward the whites. The Nez Percés were the only tribe that did not join in the Oregon Indian wars against the United States in 1855. They steadily maintained their friendship to the Americans, furnished provisions and cattle to the army, remounted the soldiers with four hundred horses, and aided them materially in the fighting with the hostile tribes. Timothy, a Nez Perce preacher, who was one of the earliest converts of Spalding, guided an American company to escape during the night from a camp among the rocks where they were almost surrounded by the enemy. Hodge's "Handbook of the American

Indian " (vol. 2, p. 67) is authority for the statement: "The Nez Perces have been particularly noted for their almost constant friendliness to the whites. The only rupture in these relations was the Nez Perces war of 1877," when a small band under Chief Joseph resisted removal from their reservation in Oregon. The Nez Perces at Lapwai, Idaho, where the mission station was located, remained friendly.

In the autumn of 1862 Spalding returned for a short time to the Nez Perces under government appointment as superintendent of education, and led them in their worship as well as their schools. J. W. Anderson, who was Indian agent for the tribe at that time, wrote in 1865:

"Every Sabbath the Indians in great numbers attended Mr. Spalding's preaching, and I was greatly astonished at the orderly and dignified deportment of the congregation. Although Mr. Spalding had been absent from the tribe for many years yet they retained all the forms of worship that he had taught them. Many of them had prayer night and morning in their lodges. In my opinion Mr. Spalding, by his own personal labors, has accomplished more good in this tribe than all the money expended by the government has been able to effect."

But in 1865 the post of superintendent of education was abolished. An unfriendly administration in the Indian Office at Washington refused to recognize the mission board's title to the property granted to them back in 1836, because of claims that the missionaries had abandoned their work. A new agent tore down Spalding's house, seized the mills and orchards which had been developed on the property, and drove the old missionary from the reservation, from the large schools under his care and from the Indian church of which he had been pastor for so many years.

This action was probably due to the publication only a few years before of an adverse report on the work of the missionaries in Oregon by a special agent of the Treasury Department who made an investigation in 1857. His report,

which was printed in a large edition by the United States government, included an extensive pamphlet reprinted from *The Catholic Freeman's Journal* entitled "Protestantism in Oregon," and written by a vicar general of the Jesuits who was near the Whitman station at the time of the massacre. This report is known as "Executive Document No. Thirty-eight of the Thirty-fifth Congress, First Session, House of Representatives." The pamphlet is filled with preposterous statements about the early Protestant missionaries. Naturally it met with indignant protest from hundreds of the leading citizens of Oregon and some in the Eastern states, whose counter statements were incorporated in another official document, listed as "Forty-first Congress, Third Session, Executive Document, No. 37, Senate."

No action taken by Congress nor any propaganda pamphlets for or against the Protestant missionaries among the Oregon Indians could at that time undo the irrevocable tragedy of the Whitman massacre, restore the Indian tribes wasted by war and disease, or reestablish the good will and confidence between whites and Indians that had characterized the early visits of the explorers, and had suggested the long journey of the Indians to St. Louis in search of the Book of Heaven. But President Grant in 1871 reversed the action of the Indian Office in regard to Spalding's residence among the Nez Perces, and restored to them their old friend and missionary.

From the time Spalding was compelled to leave the mission in 1847 until his return as a missionary in 1871, twenty-four years after, little had been done for the spiritual improvement of the Indians. There had been many demoralizing influences from the soldiers and the gold seekers who had poured into the reservation in 1860. However, in 1870 there came to the Nez Perces four young Yakima Indians from Father Wilbur's Methodist mission on the Yakima Reserve. They began preaching, and there followed a great revival, in which there was a general abandonment of heathen practices

and many of the vices introduced by the white men. This revival, led by the Indian George Waters and his Yakima Indian companions, like the revival among the Dakota Indians in the Mankato prison a few years earlier, ushered in a new day for the Nez Perces. A mightier force than any human power had intervened, and, through a catastrophe, had worked out a new birth for these Indian people. The long seed sowing, as so often before, sprang suddenly to harvest, and when the missionaries were able to come back, their task was thereafter the spiritual nurture of a largely evangelized people. In the following year, Spalding returned under appointment of the Presbyterian Board and continued a remarkable evangelistic work for three years, receiving into the church nearly a thousand Indians among the Nez Perces and the Spokanes. The Cayuses, where Whitman worked, had been practically exterminated or removed to distant reservations.

The subsequent record of Spalding's work among the Nez Perces, and the development of a strong, self-propagating Indian church under the guidance of the McBeth sisters, is one of the most significant episodes in all the history of Indian missions. Miss Kate McBeth's book, "The Nez Perces from Lewis and Clark," tells the story of the steady Christian advance of this tribe. Two women sent out by the Presbyterian Board to take up the work laid down by the veterans began a training school for Indian preachers, and accomplished an unusual work, with very limited resources of money and personnel, by developing the self-dependence and initiative of the Indians themselves. The work of Nez Perce churches and evangelists in maintaining their own Christian institutions and spreading Christianity among other tribes probably has no equal in all the Christian activities among the Indians of the United States.

Reviewing the history of Oregon and Washington we are not willing to admit that the Protestant missions did not have a considerable measure of real success in spite of the

opposition by Jesuit priests, the demoralization of the Indians from contact with white fur traders and adventurers, and the distractions and hindrances due to a large incoming of settlers. Although Dr. Whitman will perhaps be chiefly remembered for his patriotic service in aiding the American colonization of the Oregon Territory, it should be remembered that he died in the midst of devoted labors for the Indians. If he did not succeed in establishing a self-perpetuating church among the Indians he probably did as much as any man could to direct future relations between white settlers and Indians of the Northwest toward brotherly helpfulness.

The failure to establish a permanent Christianized Indian community in the Pacific Northwest was inevitable. The disintegration of tribal life before the inrush of white settlers, even without the decimating effects of disease, made a distinctive work among Indians impossible. The future of the Indians was inevitably linked with the white Christian civilization of the country. Though the Indian missions could not be maintained as separate institutions, the Christian influence exerted by the missionaries on the lives of many hundreds of Indians was deep and permanent. In a sense the subsequent attitude of the white people of Oregon and Washington toward the Indians was largely determined by the missionary spirit of the pioneer settlers, so that their Christianizing efforts were carried on by the white communities they helped to establish. They had made of the disputed Oregon country another New England, with a strong inheritance of the missionary attitude.

In spite of the abandonment of the Oregon missions after the Whitman massacre, the long wars between United States soldiers and the thoroughly frightened and desperate Indians, and the gradual extinction of many of the tribes that shared in the conflicts between 1847 and 1871, there was a persistent root of Christian civilization (among the Nez Perces espe-

cially) and a tradition of missionary obligation among the white people of the Territory, which makes the Oregon missions, as viewed after nearly a century, plainly a victory of Christian faith and service.

THE DAKOTA MISSIONS

IN 1830, Fort Snelling, at the junction of the Mississippi and the Minnesota Rivers, near the present location of St. Paul and Minneapolis, was the extreme outpost of frontier civilization in the north. The fort had been erected eleven years earlier. The Indian agent under the War Department at that time made somewhat of a record for himself by twenty years of honest and efficient service among a particularly savage tribe. During his official management of relations with the Indians no white man had been killed by an Indian in his territory. It was the decided policy of the government to exclude from the Indian country all white persons except agents and employees of the fur companies. The Sioux or Dakota Indians had not disposed of any portion of their vast territory by treaty except the military reserve where Fort Snelling was built. Most of them supported themselves by hunting, trapping and fishing.

No attempt had been made, up to that time, either by private enterprise or government authority to civilize or Christianize the Dakotas, except for the fruitless efforts of Father Hennepin a hundred and fifty years before. Just as elsewhere in the Middle and Far West the interests of the fur traders were against any efforts to change the condition of the Indians, and also against any movement of settlers into the territory. The traders' occupation required that the Indians should remain hunters, and should not become tillers of the soil. Oliver Faribault, one of the pioneers of Minnesota, stated that he counted it a loss to himself of five hundred dollars for every Indian who learned to read and write.

The American Board had, in 1827, begun missions among the Chippewas in Northern Michigan and Wisconsin, and in 1831 opened a station in Minnesota. These Chippewas were hereditary enemies of the Dakotas. Having the advantage of the earlier possession of firearms, they were for a time able to push their enemies farther west. It was they who bestowed upon the Dakotas the opprobrious name of Sioux, meaning "snakes."

For many reasons the field for Christian service among this tribe appeared most attractive. It is noteworthy that in May of 1834, two volunteer missionaries, Samuel and Gideon Pond, and a regular appointee of the American Board, Dr. T. S. Williamson, reached Fort Snelling, and began work for the Indians. Three years later Stephen Riggs joined the mission. The whole history of Christian missions among the Dakotas is closely associated with the successive generations of the Riggs family and the Williamsons, and the later work of the Episcopalians under Bishop Whipple, Bishop Hare and their associates.

The Pond brothers chose their own field among these Indians and made their way to Fort Snelling at their own expense. They were the product of one of the great revivals of the early nineteenth century, and took literally the obligation to "Go, teach." They began at once to learn the language, and to make themselves serviceable to the Indians by helping them to plow the land and plant corn. Within three weeks after arrival one of them had spent a week in the home of one of the chiefs, helping to break up planting ground, living on Indian food, and picking up words in the Dakota language.

Although Dr. Williamson arrived soon after, he did not open regular work till a year later. It was not long till the Pond brothers were accepted as regular missionaries of the American Board, and had built a house for themselves near the village of a friendly chief. This was close to the present location of Minneapolis. Dr. Williamson began work two

hundred miles west. Later other stations were started. Although there were several removals, due to fire or changed conditions, the work was carried on with fair success until interrupted by the Sioux massacre in 1862.

Through the efforts of Bishop Whipple of the Protestant Episcopal church a mission was established among the Sioux in 1860. In 1873 Bishop Hare, one of the great missionaries among the Indians, began the work among the Dakotas which he continued for thirty-seven years. In 1874 the Bureau of Catholic Indian missions was organized and in 1882 undertook school and church work on one of the Sioux reservations. Three Protestant groups, Congregationalists and Presbyterians under the American Board (later under the American Missionary Association and the Presbyterian Board of National Missions), with the Episcopalians, have worked together among the Dakota Indians in an unusually harmonious and effective effort, and have produced remarkable results in civilizing and Christianizing this large and virile tribe. There remains scarcely a single pagan Indian among its thirty-five thousand present members.

The preliminary work for twenty-nine years was slow and discouraging. It is difficult to realize what were the conditions of life of a missionary family among those proud and utterly unrestrained Dakota Indians. The missionaries had no privacy, no protection, little companionship with those of their own race. Some of them almost forgot their own language, so that they might better master that of the Indians. Besides conquering the physical wilderness they conquered the difficult language. An alphabet was invented, a grammar prepared, and a dictionary of several thousand words compiled.

But they had not conquered the hearts of the Dakota people, though a few were friendly and a small number had become sincere followers of Christ. Allowing, as we must, for the high, almost puritanical standards which the missionaries set for their Indian converts, it is nevertheless true that the

results were disappointing. One says, "Before the outbreak of 1862 I saw very few Dakotas who seemed to give evidence of piety."

One condition that made missionary work harder was the changed status of the Indians under the government treaty of 1837. S. W. Pond says:

"When we came among them we found them as a general rule an industrious and energetic people. We have been patiently waiting, hoping that when the treaty period during which they were to receive annuities had expired the Indians would be compelled to resume habits of industry. . . . The older Indians have gradually lost their former habits of industry or are dead, and a new generation of insolent, reckless fellows has grown up, who spend their lives in idleness and dissipation."

In 1851 and 1852 new treaties were concluded by which much of the land belonging to the Sioux was ceded to the United States. The Indians withdrew reluctantly to their reservation, realizing, however, that they were powerless to resist the encroachments of the white settlers. The new mode of life was irksome to a people accustomed to an active, roving life, untrammelled by any of the restraints of civilization. The great chiefs who had exercised a strong restraining power on their followers died off, and the situation encouraged restlessness and lawlessness, and an outbreak of the savage spirit of the tribe.

It was not long in coming. In August, 1862, began a reign of terror in the Northwest. Six to seven hundred white settlers were killed, many of them in pitched battles with the Indians; about two hundred persons were made prisoners, and thousands of homes, farm and business buildings were looted and burned during the five weeks that the Indians were on the warpath. As a result there developed a bitter hatred felt by nearly all the whites toward every individual Indian. Several of the Christian Indians had risked their lives to

save the lives of white persons, and none of them had participated in the murders,—though some had been in the company of those who had attacked white persons. Nevertheless, to many white persons an Indian was probably a murderer, entitled to neither justice nor mercy.

The proud spirit of the Sioux warriors had not easily yielded to the usual government method of subjugating the Indians, by herding them on a barren reservation, and then doling out to them provisions, as though they were wild beasts in cages. Promises were made to the Sioux by the Indian agent of large presents coming to them from the Great Father in Washington and then the promises were not kept, although they had left their little gardens and come many miles to the agency at an appointed date. Meat rations were given to the Indians by the simple process of turning loose a herd of cattle taken off the steamboat, to be hunted down and shot as were the buffalo in former days.

Another cause which undoubtedly influenced the Dakota Indians, as it did Indians all though the West, was the suggestion coming to them from many sources that the United States government was weak on account of the Civil War, then in its darkest days, and that it was an opportune time to throw off the yoke of the whites. The Sioux had able leaders, and the process of demoralization among them had not gone so far that they were not still capable of organization and concerted action. Under their chief, Little Crow, as later under Sitting Bull, they were able to plan and maintain, by force of arms, for a considerable period, an effective protest against the aggressions of white settlers on their territory.

The missionaries felt, also, that one of the chief causes of the massacre of the white people was the bitter opposition of the medicine men to the progress of Christianity and civilization. These medicine men, astute tribal politicians, were undoubtedly the organizers and instigators of the frightful outbreak. Moved largely by personal jealousy for their prestige and influence, they used the aggressions of the white men

as a motive to stir up a devastating flame of destruction against the invaders and all their works.

To most people, at the time and since, the Minnesota massacre seems simply an outbreak of Indian savagery against the advance of pioneer settlement in territories that they had claimed as their own. But in view of some of the aftermath of the war with the Indians which followed, there is good reason for believing, with the missionaries, that it was planned as a religious war, a defiance of the white man's God, and all the cultural consequences of his religion. Students of Indian affairs know how often in the past a religious appeal has been brought forward to animate a group of Indians in their desperate revolts against the advance of the white man, notably in the Messiah craze of 1888. In the Sioux outbreak it is said that the leaders threatened to destroy all of their own people who would not abandon the customs and religion of the whites, and return to those of their fathers. (*Missionary Herald*, 1863, p. 202.) G. H. Pond writes, twelve years before the outbreak, "Last week the Indians renewed their threats against those who are disposed to come to our religious meetings. Their great men appear to fear that if they let them alone, all the common people will go away and believe in Jesus."

At the time of the outbreak most of the houses and fields of the Christianized Indians were destroyed. The Christian Indians attempted to protect the missionaries in their stations, but it was soon evident that they were in as great danger as were their white teachers. Like the Boxer outbreak in China, or the deadly struggle of the Jewish leaders against Jesus and His followers in the first century, this Indian outbreak appears to have been started and directed by the professional religious leaders, who were fighting for their lives against the power of a new religious idea.

When the Indians were finally repulsed by General Sibley's army at Wood Lake, they viewed it as a defeat or overthrow of their gods. Subsequent events show plainly that their old

religious beliefs were more completely destroyed than their military power. Once again the forces of superstition had risked all in an effort to stop the advance of Christian civilization, and had been defeated. The people now turned definitely from the old gods, who had failed them, to the white man's God, who might help them in their extremity.

It is not the purpose of this narrative to recount the particulars of the disaster, as it affected the growing settlements. In the disillusionment and helplessness of defeat and imprisonment the Dakota Indians began to think about the white man's God, to "feel after Him, if haply they might find Him, who is not far from every one of us." The evidence of sincerity and loyalty on the part of those Indians who before the massacre had allied themselves with the mission churches, and the wide-spread and unquestionably genuine religious awakening among the Indians which followed, are the important things to note in a history of Christian missions among the Dakotas.

When large numbers of the Indians more or less involved in the massacre had surrendered to General Sibley, about two thousand out of the six thousand concerned, it was assumed that they were the most guilty. In fact, however, those who had most actively participated in the killing and burning had fled to the north and escaped into Canada, where many of their descendants still remain. More than four hundred Indian men of those who surrendered were tried by military commission and sentenced to be hung, though they were probably much less guilty, and more amenable to the influences of civilization, than those that had escaped.

One of the Christian Indians, John Otherday, aided in the escape from the massacre of fifty-four white men, women and children. He stated to a large audience in St. Paul that "it was the Gospel of Jesus that made him protect the settlers." A pastor in St. Paul says this Indian's address was "a notable testimony to the Gospel" and had "done more for missions than any other event during the whole history of the Sioux

mission." After the final battle and the escape of the hostile Indians it was found that the remaining friendly Indians had come into the possession of almost all the captive white women and children, between one and two hundred. Other women were rescued and protected in scattered Indian tepees till they could be delivered to their friends. In addition more than one hundred white persons are known to have escaped unhurt through the aid of Christian Indians.

Just before the outbreak the missionaries had made a favorable report and expressed themselves as hopeful and happy in their work. The whole number of communicants was eighty-three, advancing in knowledge and stability. The schools seemed to be as prosperous as they had ever been. Such of the Indians as came more immediately under the influence of the mission were making decided progress in civilization. Many of those who had not associated themselves with the missions had adopted the dress and some of the customs of civilization. Large numbers of them were now planting corn, though agriculture had been practically unknown when the missionaries first came.

And yet, so appalling was the disaster, and so bitter the feeling against the Indians as a result of the massacre, that the American Board, in its annual survey for 1863, expressed doubt whether the work would be continued. However, the missionaries were not ready to give up, though many of them had to leave the field of their labors temporarily. The political and military leaders in Minnesota did not make the mistake of closing the area to Indian missionaries, as did the military commander after the Whitman massacre. Instead Stephen Riggs was appointed chaplain and interpreter for the militia and J. S. Williamson, son of one of the pioneer missionaries, hastened to return from the East for emergency duty. Others recognized the calamity as an opportunity, and gave much time to renewed efforts for the Indians.

After the Indians who had given up and thrown themselves upon the mercy of the whites had been condemned to be

hung, and put in chains by the militia, Williamson hastened to the military camp, at the site of one of the mission stations. In November the Indians were removed, the condemned men to the prison at Mankato, Minn., the women and children, and a few men to a concentration camp at Fort Snelling. Before they had left the field camp of the army there was evidence of a changed mind on the part of many toward the message of the missionaries. Like the Israelites after Carmel they all declared that there was no religion but that of Jehovah. They had lost faith in their gods and their priests, and crowded the big tepee where services were held.

But if the Indians were more ready to listen, the white people generally were more skeptical about Christian work among them. An indication of the strained public feeling, which probably made the continued work of the missionaries difficult if not dangerous, is the fact that the company composed almost wholly of Indian women and children, about fifteen hundred altogether, being moved from the military camp on their way to Fort Snelling, was in serious danger of being mobbed in the towns they passed through. Notwithstanding the guard of soldiers, they were greeted with showers of stones and of curses. Also, when the nearly four hundred chained Indian prisoners were carried through in wagons on the way to their prison, people came out and made an insane attack upon them. The pressure upon the military authorities was very great, demanding the execution of every Indian captured. The cry was everywhere, "Exterminate the fiends."

But the sentences of the military court could not be carried out until their findings had been reviewed by the President of the United States. Though President Lincoln was burdened with anxiety in this, the darkest period of the Civil War, and also overborne with personal grief for the loss of his son, he took time to have the reports of the trial carefully studied, and then directed that only those who had personally participated in attacks on white men and women should be

executed. Dr. Williamson expresses the feelings of the missionaries, who had not lost faith in the Indians in spite of the horrors of the outbreak, "We thank God that He gave wisdom and firmness to President Lincoln to resist the repeated demands for a general execution."

When the decision of the President was received, thirty-eight Indians were hung in the prison, on the day after Christmas of 1862, just four months after the outbreak. Two of the missionaries had spent much time with the prisoners before they left the military camp, and during the month in the prison before the executions. All of those who were executed asked for religious instruction from the Protestant missionary or the Catholic priest. Not one of those finally hung had had any previous connection with the missions.

Dr. Williamson writes:

"From the first all the prisoners seemed to listen to preaching with deep interest; the interest steadily increased, and the three members of one of the mission churches were active in instructing and praying with the others. The prisoners asked for books. Only two copies of the (Dakota) New Testament, and two or three copies of the Dakota hymn-book, were found in the prison. Later several more were secured and a number of copies of Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress' in the Dakota language, which had been hidden by the Christian Indians in a cache at the time of the outbreak. From this time on the prison became a school, and continued to be such all through their imprisonment. The more their minds turned toward God and His word, the more they became interested in learning to read and write. Before the executions the leader of the Christian Indians had a list of thirty who had led in public prayer. Soon after sixty more names were added. This was regarded by themselves very much in the light of making a profession of religion."

After the executions the remaining prisoners rallied around one of the Indian Christians who had been an elder in the church, and organized their own religious services, not waiting for the ministrations of the missionaries. The missionary

says of this man, "He reads a portion of Scripture, sings a hymn and either himself or one of the others who were church members before the massacre leads in prayer every morning, afterward adding a short exhortation. At their evening worship several hymns are sung, and several of the converts are called on to pray. Nine-tenths of all the prisoners attend."

On the Sunday after the executions the prisoners who remained were allowed to go out in the prison yard. Stephen Riggs describes the scene:

"We gathered in the middle of that enclosure, and all that company of chained men stood while we sang hymns and prayed and talked of God's plan of saving men from death. Their fears were thoroughly aroused, and they were eager to find some way by which the death they apprehended could be averted. It was a good time to talk to them of their sins. It was a good time to unfold to them God's plan of saving from sin. A marvelous work of grace was already commencing in the prison."

Dr. Williamson says: "Most of them were heathen, very many had been persecutors of all who had evinced any disposition to embrace Christianity. There were only about twenty who had been taught to read in our schools."

Just a month later, when Gideon Pond, who had ten years previously retired from the mission to the pastorate of a white church, was invited by some of the Indians in the prison to visit them, he with Dr. Williamson, after careful instruction and rigid examination, baptized nearly three hundred of the prisoners. He writes:

"There is a degree of religious interest manifested by them which is incredible. They huddle themselves together every morning and evening in the prison to hear the Scriptures, sing hymns, confess one to another and pray together. They say that their whole lives have been wicked, that they have adhered to the superstitions of their ancestors until they have

reduced themselves to their present state of wretchedness and ruin. They declare that they have left it all, and will leave all forever, that they will and do embrace the religion of Jesus Christ, and will adhere to it as long as they live, and that this is their only hope in this world and the next. They say that before they came to this state of mind their hearts failed them with fear, but now they have much mental ease and comfort."

There was a general agreement among the conservative missionaries, faced with this situation inside the prison, that the Indians had given sufficient evidence of real conversion. As Peter in the house of Cornelius said of those other Gentiles, "Can any man forbid the water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Spirit as well as we?" Dr. Williamson, who took a principal part in this great ingathering, says:

"I wrote in their own language a confession of faith and covenant. After appropriate religious exercises we read and explained the confession and told them that we were ready to baptize such as heartily adopted it. We baptized on that day two hundred and seventy-four. Before the close of the month others received the ordinance, in all three hundred and five or six, besides eight baptized in infancy, all of whom were received to the communion of the church on profession of their faith."

Dr. Riggs writes, "The circumstances were peculiar and the whole movement was marvelous; it was like a nation born in a day." Later on he wrote: "After many years of testing we all say that it was a genuine work of God's Holy Spirit." A few weeks later the missionaries conducted the first communion in the prison, after spending some time in establishing the Indians in their new faith. A missionary of the Episcopal church also visited in the prison and helped in the religious teaching, baptizing nine others.

The prisoners were not dependent alone upon the occasional visits of their former missionaries. Dr. Williamson writes:

"They have three seasons for social worship in the prison, or when the weather and other circumstances admit, in the prison yard, each day. They apply themselves with great diligence to learning, and considering their circumstances make rapid advances in knowledge. Though poorly supplied with books and paper (and their prison is so dark that in most parts it is difficult to see to read) many who at the beginning of the year did not know a letter, now write letters to their absent friends. Their prayers are fervent and appropriate. They pray daily for the officers and soldiers who guard them. They pray much for their families."

Soon after the marvelous ingathering Dr. Riggs writes:

"The prison is one great school. Go in almost any time of day and you will see from ten to twenty groups reading. These circles average about ten persons and usually each one has its teacher. All over the prison you will see men engaged in writing. There are a few old men who have not attempted to learn, but over all the rest education now sits a monarch. The edition of four hundred of the little spelling book which I improvised and had printed at St. Paul is nearly exhausted, and the demand is not satisfied. I distributed more than a hundred of those ABC books the first day after I reached the prison. Many of the Indians are now beyond that, and want other books. Fortunately we have on hand more than a hundred copies of Bunyan."

In reference to the religious situation the missionaries were not over-credulous about the spiritual transformations that had occurred. Dr. Riggs says:

"I look upon the whole work among the men in the prison as a very wonderful reformation. I have no doubt that they have been influenced by mixed motives, and that deliverance from the chain on the ankles has been one of the motives. But I think that no religious man can go there, spend a week in the prison, attend the meetings morning and evening, and sometimes at noon also, hear them sing and talk and pray, and come away doubting that there is a great deal of reality."

He adds, very significantly:

"It is my firm belief concerning this work that already as much progress has been made by the Indians at Mankato and Fort Snelling during the present winter in learning to read and write, as was made during the twenty-seven years preceding by all the Dakotas."

The new converts in the Mankato prison were largely dependent on their own Indian spiritual leaders, and were doing their own thinking. They wrote many letters to the members of their families at the concentration camp at Fort Snelling. Dr. Riggs says, "Last week I gave away three quarters of a ream of writing paper. I brought down with me to the relatives in the camp at Fort Snelling over four hundred letters written by the prisoners." These letters greatly influenced the growth of religious interest among the men and women at that camp. Like the Jewish captives in Babylon the new spiritual aspirations of the Mankato prisoners were directed toward a return to their own country, and a practice of their new faith under normal conditions.

Robert Hopkins, the Indian elder, was the bishop in the prison. He seemed spiritually, as he was physically, head and shoulders taller than the rest of the people. He often spent whole nights conversing and praying with the anxious. The missionaries testify that the revival seemed to be carried forward chiefly through his instrumentality and that of his fellow Christians. Seeing how he was employed the officers in charge of the prisoners had his chains taken off. He reported to the missionaries that the prisoners had united in determining to pray for three things, a country, with a sanctuary, and religious teachers in that land.

The conduct of the prisoners wrought a great change in the views and feelings of the community at Mankato, softening the very strong prejudice which had existed against them. The soldiers appointed to guard the Indians at another prison to which they were transferred at first treated them with a good deal of severity and harshness. But a few weeks sufficed to change their feelings, and they were led to pity

and then to respect those whom they had regarded as worse than wild beasts. (Riggs, "Forty Years Among the Sioux," p. 221.)

The fifteen hundred Indians, mostly women and children, who had been brought to the concentration camp at Fort Snelling while their men who had been condemned to death were confined in the prison at Mankato, were also ready for a great awakening, sobered by recent events, and convinced their old gods had failed them. John P. Williamson had accompanied them to their new camp on the river-bottom. A high fence was built around two or three acres of ground, inside of which the Indians pitched their tents. Mr. Williamson spent the winter caring for their interests materially and spiritually. At first he met the former church members in one of their own tepees. But when news came of the revival among the prisoners at Mankato the tepee would not contain half the listeners, and the meetings were held in the open air, and then in a great garret over a warehouse, with three to five hundred in attendance.

"In that dark garret," says Dr. Riggs, "where hundreds were crouched down among the rafters, only the glistening eyes of some of them visible in the dark, many were convicted of sin, confessions and professions were made, idols treasured for many generations with the highest reverence were thrown away by the score. There was ever a large and active sympathy between the camp and the prison, and frequent letters passed between them. When, at one time I brought down several hundred letters from the prisoners, and told them of the wonderful revival there in progress, it produced a powerful effect. In both camp and prison, both intellectually and spiritually, it was a winter of great advancement."

Soon there were thirty-four in the camp ready to be admitted to the communion after careful examination, and fifty children to be baptized. A month later seventy adults were ready, besides children. The total number received during

the winter was one hundred and forty. About the first of May came the order to move the camp to the new reservation allotted to those Indians who had been connected with the outbreak. It had been a winter of suspense and anxiety. No one knew the final fate of the prisoners, who, though they had been saved from immediate execution, were still held and kept in ignorance of what was to become of them. The prisoners had just been moved to another prison farther down the Mississippi. The women and children and the few men who had been released were placed aboard a steamer, carried down to St. Louis, and up the Missouri to Crow Creek in the Dakota territory.

Their condition was pitiable. Dr. Williamson says:

"On account of the murders committed by about three hundred wicked men Congress had declared forfeited the lands and annuities of a population of six thousand souls. They have been deprived of their arms and implements for hunting; with a very few exceptions their horses, cattle and wagons were lost or have been disposed of to supply their urgent needs, and they have nothing remaining except their cooking utensils, tents and clothes on their backs. Within six months more than one-tenth of them have died, many of them in consequence of their confinement." (*Missionary Herald*, 1863, p. 204.)

Concerning the journey the younger Williamson writes:

"The mortality was fearful. The shock, the anxiety, the confinement, the pitiable diet were naturally followed by sickness. . . . When thirteen hundred Indians were crowded like slaves on the boiler and hurricane decks of a single boat, and fed on musty hardtack and briny pork, which they had not half a chance to cook, diseases were bred which made frightful havoc."

But the religious interest had prepared the hearts of the Indians for this terrible experience. At the beginning of the journey Williamson records:

"We are hardly under way when from all parts of the boat we hear hymns of praise ascending to Jehovah, not loud, but soft and sweet like the murmur of many waters. Then one of them leads in prayer, after which another hymn is sung, and so they continue till all are composed, and drawing their blankets over them, each falls asleep. The next morning, before sunrise, they are again paying their devotions to God, and so they have continued every evening and morning since. The people along the route wonder to see them so peaceable and quiet."

After the Indians arrived at the barren region to which they had been assigned the band of thirteen hundred soon dwindled to a thousand. It was a rare day when there was not a funeral. But daily prayer meetings were held by the women, who made up the great majority of the camp. Deaconesses were appointed to take charge of the meetings. Like the men in the Mankato prison they were learning to depend on their own spiritual leaders. It became plain to all that the camp as a whole had changed from heathenism to Christianity.

The men prisoners had been removed to Davenport, Iowa, where they were kept for three years more. Soon after they arrived at their new prison their irons were taken off and they had comparative liberty, which was never abused. The death rate was large, thirty per cent in the three years. Under the care of Dr. Williamson and Dr. Riggs the time was devoted to education. New editions of the Dakota hymn-book were prepared for them and large portions of the Bible in the Dakota language. Practically all were now professed Christians, some of them baptized by the Episcopal missionary, but all worshipping together. In church matters they were organized into classes according to their former clans and villages, with ordained elders as class leaders. This was a step toward developing Indian pastors, who have ever since been such a vital factor in the progressive Christianization of the Dakota Indians.

In spite of the manifest character development of the prisoners under the influence of their religious activities a new military commander at the prison attempted to prohibit the missionaries from preaching to them. The general in command "issued an order forbidding to the Indians all recreations, directing that their rations of bread be discontinued, and that no visitors should be allowed in the prison." This was soon followed by another order excluding the missionaries. The commander is reported to have assigned as a reason "that these Indians are such sinners that he thinks it wrong to show them any sympathy, even so far as to preach to them the Gospel." But the officer in immediate charge of the Indians wrote: "I take pleasure in bearing testimony to the unexceptionably good conduct of the Indian prisoners. They have been submissive to their fate, obedient to every order, and indefatigable in the labors imposed. Moreover the earnest Christian devotion of a large number of them evinces much of the indwelling spirit of God, and in many cases a high standard of Christian character." It was not long till the general's order was rescinded, and another son of the mission, Alfred Riggs, joined Dr. Williamson in service for the prisoners, as Dr. Williamson's son had a couple of years earlier undertaken the spiritual care of the Indians in the concentration camp. Dr. Stephen Riggs labored to supply the growing demand for Christian literature in the Indian language, acted as interpreter and advocate for the Indians with the state and federal authorities, and served as chaplain with several of the military expeditions against those Indians who had not submitted. The Episcopalians also aided in service for the prisoners, though their great efforts in the building of the church among the Dakota Indians came later.

In 1866 these prisoners were finally released, and their families joined them in a new reservation in the northeastern corner of Nebraska, where Santee school is now located. Here the life of this group began to be normal again. The churches of the camp and the prison were united. Those

Indians who had been trained and disciplined by the experience of the four years were put into service as exhorters and preachers. The Indians drifted out over the reservation, where they could cultivate the land. New churches were organized, which called their own Indian pastors. The missionaries devoted themselves to the preparation of Scriptures, tracts and other literature in the Dakota language, and to the supervision and further training of the Indian preachers and deaconesses. It was plainly the opening of a new phase in Indian missions; Christianity had become "naturalized," and the subsequent missionary processes were to be along the line of Christian culture and religious education. Adult education had been demonstrated in a remarkable way as a basis for a new cultural life for the Indians. After their disciplinary and educational experience of the prison and the concentration camp every Dakota Indian church became a school. The whole subsequent process of Christianization of the tribe, more than thirty thousand, one of the largest and originally one of the most savage groups of Indians, was based on this practical policy of religious education through the church, for adults as well as children, under native leadership.

Summing up the results of the work to 1891, a missionary reported "nine Presbyterian and two Congregational churches, with a membership of over three hundred; nearly all supplied by Indian preachers, who receive a considerable part of their support from the churches." Since that report was made forty years have passed, the three Protestant groups serving the Dakota Indians have over two hundred Indian preachers and teachers, with churches dotting the landscape wherever Indians are found.

Of all the great Indian tribes which have, since the discovery of America, figured prominently in relations with the whites, there remain only three considerable groups which are still distinctive and specially important for the future, the Dakotas, the Chippewas, and the Navajos. The Dakotas are Christianized, a considerable part of the Chippewas are still

pagan, the majority of the Navajos are isolated on their great desert reservations from many contacts with Christian civilization. The genuine change in the religious thought of the Dakotas is not now questioned, in spite of the revival experiences that came to an earlier generation under pressure of restraint and fear. Nominal Christianity of the pueblo Indians may perhaps be discounted, but the Sioux are probably as honest in their Christian allegiance, if not so well trained in their Christian practice, as the average of the white community. The undeniable success of devoted missionaries, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics, among the Dakota Indians, ought to encourage efforts for the complete evangelization of the other two great Indian tribes who still stand as a challenge to American Christianity.

VI

A CHALLENGE TO COOPERATION

THE Indian Bureau of the United States Government was established in 1824 as a branch of the War Department. Wars or efforts to prevent wars were then the principal function of the government in its relations with the Indians,—besides the negotiation of so-called treaties for the extinguishment of titles to the land demanded by white pioneers. In 1793 government agents were first appointed to live among the Indians. They did not go with any altruistic purpose, or any plan to induce the Indians to become civilized, educated citizens of the United States. Their object was to hold the Indians to military alliance with the colonists against the subversive influence of English agents.

The next step in relations with the Indians was made by traders, who bought furs in exchange for guns and liquor. The requirements of the fur trade and the land hunger of pioneers were, in the early days, the largest factor in shaping governmental relations with the Indians. The United States government, at the suggestion of President Washington, went itself into the business of trading with the Indians, operating fifteen trading posts in various parts of the Middle West, by which plan it was hoped the Indians could be protected from extortion and drunkenness.

The first duties of the Indian Bureau, when it was established, were to pay out the annuities to Indians authorized by treaties and to dispense the \$10,000 a year which Congress had begun to appropriate as a "Civilization Fund." This sum was first allowed in 1819, but not expended for the purpose designated. The next year Congress decided that the only wise way to use this money was to give it to the mis-

sionary societies working among the Indians; and accordingly \$11,833 was apportioned to twenty-one schools conducted by various religious societies.

For the next fifty years Congress made annual appropriations in aid of religious organizations undertaking the education of the Indians, sometimes increasing the amount to as much as \$60,000 for buildings and maintenance. But aside from the gifts of the churches and these meager sums there was no other provision made for Indian education and civilization. Dr. Carson Ryan, Director of Education for the Office of Indian Affairs, says: "For three hundred and twelve years, 1568 to 1880, Indian education was under the direction of religious missionary organizations." ("Indian Schools and Education.")

With the change to civilian control under the Department of the Interior the administration of Indian affairs gained something from the abandonment of the militarist attitude in dealing with the Indians, but at the same time lost whatever value there was in the discipline and morale of the army, and was given over to political job hunters under the "spoils system." "After twenty years of Interior Department management," as McDowell says, "Indian agents were openly accused of stealing, embezzling and grafting. It was charged that but a minimum of the goods purchased for distribution to the Indians ever reached them." (Bulletin 242, Board of Indian Commissioners.) The government was besides unable to control the rush of white settlers into the West and across the mountains to Oregon and California. Thousands of adventurers moved through the Indian country contemptuously ignoring the treaty obligations entered into by the United States with the Indians.

When the government and the people had grown tired of endless Indian wars, and sickened by the shameless conduct of Indian affairs a Peace Commission was appointed in 1867. General W. T. Sherman was placed at the head of it "to suggest or inaugurate some plan for the civilization of the Indian."

The commission's report was a terrible indictment of the government's treatment of the Indians. It was not prepared by missionaries or sentimental philanthropists but by business men and the soldiers who had been responsible for keeping the Indians in order. The army men had frequently testified that the Indians were less to blame than the white people for the wars that had occurred.

During this same year there was a special conference of the Friends concerning Indian affairs, where it was reported that prominent men in the government had expressed the wish that Friends might be intrusted with the care and civilization of the Indians. Two years later two groups of Friends presented to President-elect Grant their desire for a more peaceful and Christian policy toward the Indians. He was cordial and sympathetic, and asked what they would recommend. Less than a month later, before his inauguration, he requested the Friends to nominate members of the Society to act as Indian agents. The Orthodox Friends accepted responsibility for the Central Superintendency embracing the tribes in Kansas and Indian Territory, and the Liberal Friends took the Northern Superintendency in the state of Nebraska. Malcolm McDowell, in Bulletin 280 of the Board of Indian Commissioners ("Christian Missions Among the American Indians"), says:

"The success of this policy of appointing members of a church with the endorsement of the organization, as Indian agents, was so evident that in the following year all of the reservations were put in charge of Indian agents nominated by the several churches."

Kelsey, in his book, "Friends and the Indian" (pp. 162-199), gives one of the best reviews of this unique phase in the government's policy toward the Indians, though no author seems to have presented the subject comprehensively from the standpoint of all the churches involved. Kelsey says: "It is difficult to say what was the chief or deciding factor in

leading Grant to devise this policy and to call upon Friends to initiate the work." In his first annual message President Grant said to Congress:

"I had attempted a new policy toward these wards of the nation. The Society of Friends is well known as having succeeded in living in peace with the Indians in the early settlements of Pennsylvania, while their white neighbors of other sects in other sections were constantly embroiled. They are also known for their opposition to all strife, violence and war, and are generally noted for their strict integrity and fair dealings. These considerations induced me to give the management of a few reservations of Indians to them and to throw the burden of the selection of agents upon the Society itself. The result has proven most satisfactory."

There is little doubt that many agencies contributed to the decision of President Grant. He was influenced by the report of the Peace Commission; the book, "Indian Tribes and Missions," published by the Episcopal church, speaks of "the change in the system of dealing with the Indians inaugurated by President Grant at the instance of Bishop Whipple" (sec. 3, p. 10); it also refers to a conference of Episcopalians in Philadelphia which interviewed the President on the subject.

The new Peace Policy was so named in contrast with the definitely recognized "policy of force" in dealing with the Indians which had been introduced by President Jackson forty years before, and had been more or less the established policy of the government ever since. To carry out this new policy President Grant at once appointed a Board of Indian Commissioners, a body of eminent civilians to serve without salary, charged with the inspection of Indian affairs and asked to make recommendations as to improvements in the service.

This Board, which has included some of the great educators and philanthropists of the country, has been an active influence in advancing the welfare of the Indians, notably through the Mohonk Conference, as well as through their extensive study of field and office conditions in the work

of the Indian Bureau and their concrete suggestions to the Secretary of the Interior and the President. The Board of Indian Commissioners has initiated much of the legislation and many of the administrative activities that in recent years have aided Indian progress. Kelsey says: "It made a hard and winning fight against the graft of the 'Indian Ring,' and proposed many of the most enlightened and progressive measures that have been incorporated into the Indian policy of the United States."

As originally constituted, this Board was intended to represent the philanthropic and missionary interests of the American people facing their responsibilities to the Indians. McDowell says: "An important function of the Board brought it into intimate contact with Indian missionaries and the mission boards of church organizations. In its early years the Board served as a clearing house for Indian missionary activities" (p. 21).

In addition to constant sympathetic contact with the missionary activities of the various churches, Protestant and Roman Catholic, among the Indians, through visits to the Indian field, and through personal relations with leading workers among Indians, the Board of Indian Commissioners held for twenty-eight years an annual conference in Washington with the secretaries of societies maintaining missions among Indians. In the annual reports of the Board statistics and incidents have been published which are of unusual value in the history of missions among these people.

In Bulletin 280, issued by the Board, the present chairman, Dr. Samuel A. Eliot, writes:

"The missions maintained on Indian reservations by the Protestant and Catholic churches have long been regarded as coöperating units with this Board and the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Federal government's efforts to aid and qualify Indians to take their places as self-supporting, independent men and women in the general citizenry of the nation. The Congress of the United States, the successive Secretaries of

the Interior and Commissioners of Indian Affairs and the school and reservation superintendents have again and again testified by legislation, executive orders and official statements to the value of missionary work. The Federal officers have recognized the missionaries as influential members of the authorized personnel on the reservations. The government desires and welcomes the coöperation of the mission boards in all endeavors to promote the welfare of the Indians."

A study of the activities of the Board of Indian Commissioners and of its distinguished and faithful members since the first appointments were made in 1869 amply justifies Chairman Eliot's statements. The year after the Board was constituted by President Grant they recommended an extension of the Peace Policy, suggesting that the Indian agencies be divided among the different denominations, and superintendents appointed on the nomination of the mission boards. The President at once, with his characteristic thoroughness, put into effect a drastic reform. He took the Indian Service out of politics. He announced that he intended to use peaceful methods instead of military force in dealing with these wards of the government, that he purposed humanizing the Indian problem, and as a step in that direction, would place in charge of agencies men nominated by the different religious bodies, in the hope of avoiding the probable consequences of the appointment of political parasites to such positions.

General Clinton B. Fisk, chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1881, states that the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Interior went personally before a group of mission board secretaries invited to consider this proposition and "requested that they be relieved from the pressure of politicians." In their book, "The Navajo Indians" (p. 256), Dane and Mary Roberts Coolidge say:

"Under the spoils system as applied to Indian affairs neither the President nor the Secretary of the Interior nor the

Commissioner of Indian Affairs was the appointing officer for the Indian Service, though they were legally responsible. In practice senators and representatives and powerful politicians had long been discharging their obligations to their henchmen by obliging the Executive to give them positions in the service. President Grant had directly appealed to the churches and religious organizations throughout the country to furnish nominees more trustworthy and competent than those offering themselves in these political lists."

Although the mission boards had nothing to gain by accepting this heavy responsibility save a unique opportunity for extending their Christian activities, they agreed to undertake it and to find the men who could represent the government in a true missionary spirit in its dealing with the Indians. In 1871 there were seventy-two persons placed in charge of seventy-one out of the eighty agencies at the nomination of the various church groups, displacing those who had been appointed under the spoils system. The Friends provided eighteen men, in agencies which included over 22,000 Indians; the Methodists fourteen men, on fields occupied by 54,000 Indians; the Presbyterians ten men, among 28,000 Indians; Episcopalians eight men, among 27,000 Indians; Baptists five men, to work among 41,000; Congregationalists four men, for 6,000; Disciples two men among 8,000; Dutch Reformed two men for 8,000; Unitarians two men for 4,000; and seven Roman Catholics in agencies populated by 18,000 Indians.

Thus about 220,000 Indians, three-fourths of all in the United States, were placed under the care of government agents selected by Protestant and Catholic missionary organizations, and presumably inspired with the spirit of the churches that had nominated them. Not only was the administration of the government's obligations to the Indians placed in the hands of these nominees of the missionary boards, but the boards themselves were regarded as having a special responsibility for the civilization process on particular reservations as well as for the supervision of their nominees.

The government reports definitely list the "agencies assigned to religious denominations." Much more was implied than merely recommending a man for government appointment.

In the administration of the responsibilities entrusted to them by the President, the Friends took their task more seriously, perhaps, than any other denomination. It became for them a great crusade. Each of the Yearly Meetings accepted special interest in a particular agency; there were frequent delegations sent out to visit the Indians under their care, and encourage the agents in charge. One prominent member of such a delegation was Dr. James E. Rhoads, father of the Indian Commissioner under President Hoover. The executive committee appointed a general secretary under their own pay to oversee the Indian superintendents nominated by the Yearly Meetings but paid by the government.

They sometimes supplied the salary of an additional teacher beyond those supported by the government. With their characteristic whole-heartedness and devotion the Friends made this enterprise their one great mission during the ten years when it enjoyed the support of the government. The agents chosen by the Friends refused to call on the military forces for aid; they established schools; they developed agriculture. When they took the field in Kansas and Western Oklahoma there were four schools with one hundred and fifty pupils. In ten years the Quaker agents had increased them to fifteen schools with a thousand pupils.

These agents were deeply religious. It was a new experience for most of the Indian tribes to have "praying agents" come among them. These men held regular religious meetings in which they were aided by visiting delegations of volunteer missionary workers. One opened his first conference with the Pottawatomies by kneeling in prayer among them. The *Kansas State Record* in 1869 remarked that it was more usual for an Indian agent to prey than to pray. The Central Superintendency reported, "There are eleven Scripture schools, attended by six hundred and seventeen persons. Re-

ligious instruction is given daily in all schools." During these years of service by superintendents of the Friends under the government hundreds of Indians professed conversion. Several superintendents later became missionaries and one continued until 1893 as general overseer of the Friends mission work in Oklahoma after leaving government service.

That the establishment of the Board of Indian Commissioners and the nomination of Indian agents by the mission boards opened a new era in government relations with the Indians is now generally admitted, in spite of the fact that the activities of the Board of Commissioners have been severely criticized and seriously hampered by acts of Congress, and that this policy of appointing agents nominated by church boards was definitely given up by the government in 1882 after only twelve years of somewhat half-hearted operation.

The report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1871, the first year after the new plan was put into operation, commenting on the subject, says:

"The system of appointing Indian agents nominated by missionary boards commends itself to the judgment of the board as having affected a manifest improvement in the agencies where it was fully operative, though in one or two cases the society making the nomination has not yet acted on the implicit obligation to take a missionary interest on behalf of the Indians thus committed to their care. . . . Enough has transpired to warrant the most sanguine expectations of success."

In the same year the Commissioner of Indian Affairs said:

"Much has been accomplished by intrusting to men of good standing and moral character the responsible offices of superintendents and agents, by earnest endeavors, through conciliatory measures rather than by force or threatenings, to promote order and the interests of peace by seeking to inspire the confidence of the Indians in the government and by dealing fairly and liberally with them."

Three years later the Commissioner reported:

"The relations of the Bureau to the several religious societies in accordance with whose nominations its agents have been appointed, have been harmonious, and, it is believed, helpful. There can be no question but that, as a class, the persons thus secured for the difficult and responsible position of Indian agent are conscientious and faithful men. . . . By no plan likely to be adopted is it probable that better men can be secured for this service than the several religious bodies offer on their nominations to the government." (Report, 1874, p. 13.)

In the same report the Commissioner adds concerning the need of a missionary spirit and the coöperation of the churches:

"The main difficulty lies in the fact that the Indian's deepest need is that which the government through its political organization and operation cannot well bestow. The first help which a man in barbarism requires is that which is offered by a fellowman, wiser than himself, coming personally and extending a hand of sympathy and truth. No amount of appropriations and no amount of governmental machinery can do much toward lifting an ignorant and degraded people, except as it works through the willing hands of men made strong and constant by their love for their fellowmen. If, therefore, it shall be possible to continue the sympathy and aid of the religious people of the land in this work, and to rally for its prosecution the enthusiasm and zeal which belongs to religion . . . each year will witness a steady decrease of barbarism and a constant accession to the number of peaceful and intelligent Indians."

Commenting on the apathy of government officials toward the civilization of the Indians Dane Coolidge says, in "The Navajo Indians" (p. 245):

"With the advent of agents nominated by church influence and of school teachers and missionaries the morals of the Navajos became a matter of public concern. In spite of the comparative failure of this unique experiment in securing the

aid of the churches in the government's task the Indian Bureau never reverted to that complete indifference about the morals of the Indians which had characterized some of its earlier attitudes."

In 1876 the Commissioner's report called attention to the great difficulty the churches were experiencing in inducing persons of the requisite qualifications to accept the positions of Indian agents. A superintendent among the Navajos asked that the government require missionary boards nominating to Indian posts to look into something more than the piety of those selected, emphasizing the need of good business men. The boards could not lay hands on a sufficient number of responsible, capable and consecrated men to meet the challenge of the President's plan. The position required all the qualifications of the best-equipped missionary, without the support in confidence, appreciation and freedom of initiative which the churches usually give to those whom they commission for missionary service. Only the power of a great missionary revival spirit sweeping over the churches, as it did in the early years of the nineteenth century, would have prepared the hearts of men and women to come forward and meet this unique challenge. A war-weary people were ready to follow President Grant's wish, "Let us have peace;" but they did not realize, and were not prepared to give, the amount of labor and devotion necessary to create and maintain the conditions of peace.

One serious difficulty in the very beginning of the new relations between the churches and the government in the care of the Indians was that the secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, who had been asked to make the assignments of Indian agencies, had little familiarity with what the denominations were doing in Indian missions. There appears to be plenty of evidence that the assignments of agencies were made somewhat arbitrarily and were often ill advised. They were considerably modified from year to year. Some fine men were appointed at the suggestion of

the missionary societies, acting in relation to their missionary colleagues just as did the "secular agents" sent out by many missionary boards in the earlier days. But the conditions of the work were such as to discourage honest and devoted and capable men, and rather encourage grafting and neglect of constructive helpfulness to the Indians. Many good men resigned because of the meager salaries and hampering restrictions. The political control of the Indian Bureau could not easily be broken by a mere proclamation of the President.

Two influences began to operate almost at once to hinder the effectiveness of the peace policy, the resistance of politicians, office seekers and the contractors for Indian supplies, and the disagreements between church boards as to the distribution of agencies. It could not reasonably be expected that those who had in the past profited by the disposition of posts in the Indian Service and by contracts for the furnishing of the immense number of supplies given by the government to the Indians would yield without a protest to the new policy, which appeared likely to end their profits. Members of Congress resented the loss of patronage and passed a measure disqualifying army officers, to whom President Grant had first appealed, from holding posts under the Indian Bureau.

The authors of "The Navajo Indians" (p. 251) say:

"Until about 1901 the political powers fought and evaded the enforcement of the Civil Service law as applied to appointments in the Indian Service." Speaking of the Board of Indian Commissioners they add: "At each session of Congress attempts were made to disband them or to weaken their salutary control of the purchase and distribution of supplies, and it was not until the turn of the century that the greater proportion of the Indian appointments came under the civil service regulations, and the law was technically enforced."

Although there were many protests from different churches concerning assignments of agencies the most emphatic and wide-spread were those issued by the Roman Catholic clergy.

In 1874 the Catholic Sentinel Publication Company of Portland, Oregon, published a pamphlet in which the clergy of the Province of Oregon spoke of "the practical bearings of President Grant's Indian policy upon the vital interests of the Catholic church in the United States," and declared that by the administration of this policy "the United States is made the unconscious tool of ill-designing societies for illegal and unconstitutional interference with religious freedom." They claimed that Roman Catholics should have been given the control of thirty-eight agencies under the government instead of eight, and that the religious liberty of Catholic Indians was being suppressed by the dominance of Protestant agents.

The same year the Roman Catholic bishops of Baltimore established a Catholic Commissioner of Indian Missions. This commissioner addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Interior, in which he set forth very clearly the religious implications of the new plan of the government for the Indians. (Circular of the Catholic Commissioner, Baltimore, 1874, p. 9.) He adds:

"In inaugurating this policy President Grant said that he would give 'all the agencies to such religious denominations as had heretofore established missionaries among the Indians.' So understood the President's policy is humane, philanthropic and Christian, as it intends to protect and help them indiscriminately without interfering with the freedom of any of the churches or the liberty of conscience of the individual."

But the circular goes on to say that "missions that have been for hundreds of years Catholic, and Indians to the number of 80,000, who profess the Catholic faith, have been given to the charge of different denominations of Protestants, and this in direct violation of the unquestioned right of all Christians who live under our constitution to perfect freedom in the worship of God." It goes on to say: "Our Catholic Indians have had their school funds given for the support of

schools taught by Protestant teachers, who are instructed to teach Indian children religious doctrines antagonistic to the faith of their parents."

In concluding the circular with an appeal to Catholics generally the commissioner makes the rather interesting suggestion that the situation was a danger to the religious liberty of all Catholics and that "the cause of the troubles that have come upon our Indian missions is the disregard of the great principle of religious liberty that Catholics first proclaimed and alone maintained on this continent until it won advocates and finally became a part of our national constitution."

In the report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1881, a further circular from the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions is incorporated, which repeats the claim that "80,000 Indians have been placed under the material, and to a great extent the spiritual control of Protestant churches," and goes on to say:

"The ample and various means of influence put at the disposal of those churches and the instructions to use all their efforts to Christianize as well as civilize such as are intrusted to them having placed the faith of these Indians in imminent danger, the Board of Catholic Indian Missions was, at the request of the bishops who have the responsibility of their souls, instituted as a means of counteracting such danger." "The Bureau," this official announcement goes on to state, "endeavors to secure for the Catholic church the civil control of the numerous agencies to which the Peace Policy gave her a right. It has succeeded in securing from the government the control of fourteen boarding schools. So far, only seven agencies have been provided with Catholic schools and proper missions. Some thirty more, largely composed of Catholics, remain to be attended to."

But there had been other difficulties in the way of successful operation of the Peace Policy. Reservations had been assigned to mission boards which were not doing any religious or educational work among the tribes on the reservations where they nominated the agent. Other boards had given up

their Indian missions while still retaining the responsibility of nominating an agent. Some strong mission boards had declined to make nominations for any agency, feeling that they did not care to assume the extra burden. Others wanted to make nominations and resented the fact that no agencies were assigned to them, though they were not prepared to back up the effort of the agent they might nominate with a strong missionary program.

During 1880 the Indian Bureau had ruled that religious work on reservations should be restricted to the denomination which had suggested the agent. This was an evident hardship and injustice in many cases. How some of the churches felt about this restriction is indicated by one sentence in a bishop's report. Speaking of the removal of the restriction at a later period he says: "Thus one great obstacle to the progress of the Gospel among this people has been removed." The ruling had aroused a great deal of criticism, and the Bureau announced: "In future, in all cases except where the presence of rival religious organizations would manifestly be perilous to peace and good order, Indian reservations shall be open to all religious denominations." The implications of this phrase indicate a decided change of attitude in government officials toward church work among Indians from the days of President Grant. Whether it was due to disappointment over the blunders and failures of the mission boards and their nominees, and to friction between the different denominations as to their share of the new appointments, or largely to a resurgence of the old "spoils system" spirit, it would be difficult to decide.

Membership on the Board of Indian Commissioners was not a political plum, for the members served without salary, and gave a great deal of time to the inspection of supplies, auditing of Indian Bureau accounts and visiting of Indian fields. But for a time the continuance of their work was seriously threatened. For several years the appropriation for the expense of carrying on their work was sharply contested

in Congress. In 1881 the appropriation was refused. At the personal request of the President of the United States the Board continued its usual work that year, two members privately taking care of the expenses. General Fisk said: "The great body of contractors have fought this Board for ten years determined through their friends to kill it off." Even down to 1932 the opposition to the Board's work has continued, Senator Frazier of South Dakota having offered an amendment to the Indian appropriation bill of that year cutting off the item for their office and work.

Even more embarrassing to politicians and grafters than the interference by the Board of Indian Commissioners was the control of nominations by the mission boards. Various plans were devised for getting round this difficulty. Sometimes the chief clerk on an agency had more actual power than the agent himself and was able to thwart and nullify most of his good intentions. It is not surprising that many of the men nominated by the mission boards and offering themselves with a missionary purpose gave up in despair after a few years of struggle with bureaucracy and graft, and, as a consequence, discredited the policy of further missionary appointments.

Pressure, meanwhile, was increasing upon the responsible officers of the government to ignore or neglect the relations with the mission boards. During Grant's administration things had worked fairly well, but under President Hayes many things crept into the practices of the Indian Bureau which prevented the success of the policy. Kelsey says ("Friends and the Indian"): "After President Hayes was inaugurated a new Commissioner of Indian Affairs at once showed his antipathy to the work of the Friends. In May of 1879 his attitude was so hostile that the Friends Committee resigned all further responsibility to the government for the management of the Indians."

The work of the missionary appointees had become increasingly difficult. Their efforts were nullified by hostile orders

from the Commissioner or by the defiant attitude of agency employees forced upon them contrary to their desire. Under Presidents Garfield and Arthur the Secretary of the Interior began to treat the question of consulting mission boards as an optional matter insisting on his right and responsibility to run things as seemed best. Nominations sent in by mission boards were rejected, in one case because, as President Arthur said, a senator had come to him declaring that he "didn't like to have that man nominated." Many vacancies were filled without consulting the mission boards and often against their protest. No longer did there seem to be any desire to develop coöperation between the government and the mission boards.

In 1882 a Methodist secretary wrote to the Secretary of the Interior calling his attention to the changes in the practices of the department and reminding him: "It was at the earnest solicitation of the government that this society consented to have any part in what has been called the Peace Policy. . . . The progress in civilization and the diminution of Indian wars and ravages and the smaller degree by far of dishonesties that have marked the Peace Policy as contrasted with that which preceded it have made us glad to bear the burden which the department imposed upon us."

In reply Secretary Teller announced that he "should not consult the religious bodies who had heretofore been allowed [sic] to name the persons to be appointed as Indian agents." Four months after his appointment mission boards were officially informed that they were no longer to be consulted,—and this experiment in coöperation between the Indian Bureau and the churches was officially closed. Among the reasons given for this change of policy was: "Since the religious bodies have been allowed to select agents some of the grossest frauds have been perpetrated on the Indians and the government known in the history of Indian affairs." Secretary Teller claimed that there is no reason why government officials should be selected for one class of government em-

ployment by religious bodies, and not for all. He ignored the essential missionary character of the government's service for the Indians, what a former Assistant Secretary of the Interior had called, with much insight, the "missionary branch of the government." Instead, he claimed that the Indian agent is primarily a business manager.

One of the last of the agents appointed by the Friends, who resigned under the unfriendly policy of the Secretary, was Laban J. Miles, uncle of President Hoover, with whom he lived for several years as a boy. Laban Miles is the hero of a recent Book of the Month, "Wah-kon-tah," published by the University of Oklahoma. The author, an Osage Indian, has many good words for the missionary-minded agent under whom he lived back on the old reservation.

Although there was some friction between Protestant denominations and much more between Roman Catholics and Protestants as to responsibilities on Indian reservations, due to the arbitrary assignments made back in 1870, a movement had been launched during 1881 in the conference of Protestant mission board secretaries with the Board of Indian Commissioners looking to a thorough revision of the reservation assignments, in view of a study of the work of the various churches among the Indians, and a presentation of the matter to a general convention of all religious bodies interested in Indian welfare. This constructive measure toward harmony and united action was, however, thwarted by the arbitrary decision of the Secretary of the Interior to give up the whole system.

After 1870, the annual reports of the Board of Indian Commissioners and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs contained a "List of Indian Agencies Assigned to the Several Religious Denominations." The names of the various denominations continued to be attached to these agencies for many years in the official reports of the government though even nominal responsibility for their administration ended in 1881.

At a time when the life of the Board of Indian Commis-

sioners and the continuance of the Peace Policy was threatened by the opposition of Congress, the following resolution concerning the operation of that policy in its two features, the establishment of the Board of Indian Commissioners and the coöperation of mission boards through nomination of Indian agents, was adopted by a representative conference of Christian workers:

“RESOLVED, That this convention believes that the policy inaugurated by President Grant, called the Peace Policy, notwithstanding it has not always proved a perfect success, has been productive of incalculable good to the Indians, that it has enlisted the sympathies and the coöperation of all the strong Christian denominations and the philanthropists of the country and could not be abandoned without the loss of many of the best beginnings and hopes of success among the Indians; that all the friends of the Indian are under great obligations to the Board of Indian Commissioners; that their integrity and painstaking fidelity in the discharge of delicate duties have demonstrated the value of this Board, and that we earnestly recommend that it be continued and cordially supported by the government.”

In their report for 1881, the Board of Indian Commissioners comments on the matter of mission board nominations as follows:

“For several years the policy adopted in 1870 was steadily carried out with very good results. Of late it has been partially departed from, in some cases on account of mistakes made by the societies in nominating unsuitable men for agents, in others by the withdrawal of some bodies on account of the conviction that their recommendations were not treated with due respect.”

In “Friends and the Indian” (p. 178), Kelsey sums up the situation as follows:

“The new Peace Policy was essentially President Grant’s policy, and it hardly outlived his administrations. It was begun in 1869, largely curtailed by Hayes about a decade

later, and was brought to a final close about 1885 at the beginning of Cleveland's first administration. That the policy was a success will probably never be seriously questioned. The Indian made remarkable progress toward civilization especially in the early years when Friends were unhampered by adverse political influences." Another writer ("Among the Pimas," p. 107) says: "In ten years of the administration of Indian agencies by the several Christian denominations forty thousand Indians beside those of the Civilized Tribes could read and write."

The facts brought out in the various government reports mentioning this matter of the responsibility of the various denominations for particular Indian agencies do not seem to warrant laying all the blame for the comparative failure of this unique experiment in coöperation on "sectarian rivalry, narrow-minded denominationalism and church jealousies," as one writer has indicated. Lack of careful planning in the beginning when the reservations were assigned, and decreasing effort by government officials to make the plan effective, because of pressure from office-seeking politicians, were at least equally to blame with the inability of the churches to work together, and the carelessness of some church boards in selecting and adequately supervising the agents they had nominated.

The history of Indian missions in the United States contains many notable incidents of relations between governments and churches in the process of civilizing and Christianizing the Indians, but perhaps none more interesting than this plan of President Grant's. The Spanish Crown announced as part of its purpose in exploration and conquest of the New World the Christianizing of its inhabitants. John Eliot was employed by the colonial government of Massachusetts to preach to the Indians. The missionaries to the Indians in Georgia were supported by the Federal government against the aggressions of the pioneer settlers. The missionaries among the Indians in the Oregon Territory were the founders of the provisional government which saved that region to the United States.

But in none of these relations between government and missionaries had there been such a recognition of common interest, and so frank an acknowledgment of the missionaries as agents of the government in its humanitarian work. Never had coöperation been undertaken on so broad and generous a scale.

There was no question of a state-supported church among the Indians,—nor any real danger of favoritism in government assistance for the educational and humanitarian work of any particular denomination. The Indian Bureau was coöperating with the churches, just as now it is coöperating with the public schools and with the state charity organizations, in the interest of the Indian's social welfare. It was a cordial recognition that the responsibility of the American people to the Indian could only be carried out by those persons who accepted that responsibility in the spirit of service.

"The government policy toward the Indians," very wisely says S. W. Pond ("Two Volunteer Missionaries Among the Dakotas"), "while always in a measure experimental, and often obviously unwise, has been often unsparingly criticised for faults due rather to unscrupulous agents than to any inherent defects of the Indian policy." This was said more than seventy-five years ago. The churches have had a large share in the chorus of criticism ever since, but they do not yet recognize their peculiar obligations for answering their own criticisms, in large measure, by supplying to the government Indian Bureau, whether by direct appointment or through the Civil Service, the missionary-minded men and women whose wise and faithful efforts are necessary for the successful administration of any Indian policy.

The churches were, at that critical period in Indian affairs, after 1870, called on in a special way to furnish such persons as agents for the government's work. They were not able adequately to meet the challenge. A unique opportunity was lost, and the civilization process was correspondingly delayed. But in a very real sense the challenge is still facing them.

When Dr. Carson Ryan in 1930 appealed to the Christian people of America for five hundred teachers to take civil service examinations for positions on the Indian agencies it was only the same appeal in another form, calling on the Christian forces of the country to provide the needed personnel for this essentially missionary work.

In a way the forced migration of the Indians across the Mississippi in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and the inauguration of the Peace Policy in the last third of that century, were the greatest crises in the work of civilizing and Christianizing the American Indian. But in a sense also the Indian is still being driven back by the economic pressure of the white man; and the churches are still being called upon to take the leadership in meeting the problem of our relations with the American Indians.

When Bishop Whipple came to Washington in 1864 to plead for the Indian, Secretary Stanton said: "The Government never reforms an evil until the people demand it. Tell him that when he reaches the heart of the American people, the Indians will be saved." It is the function of the churches to move the hearts of the American people.

VII

TRANSPLANTED CHURCHES

OUT of the great indefinite region west of the Mississippi purchased from France in 1803, after Napoleon had given up his dreams of an American Empire, the American Congress had set aside, in 1830, an area described as "all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi and not within the states of Missouri and Louisiana or the Territory of Arkansas," to be known as the Indian Country. There had been a plan for another Indian country in northern Wisconsin for the remnants of the Eastern tribes, but this had been given up. However, it seemed feasible to provide a relatively unoccupied region across the Mississippi for the reception of the large and fairly civilized tribes which were being crowded out of the South and the Middle West by the pressure of white settlers, and particularly because of the urgency of state governments for complete control of the territory included within their boundaries.

Just when the processes of civilization and assimilation with the white population, which were the inevitable condition of racial adjustment, were beginning to show satisfactory results, the policy of segregation was decided on because of a question of jurisdiction by the whites over the Indians. In some respects, as declared by competent white testimony, including that of Washington Irving, the conditions of their life were superior to those of the rough backwoodsmen who were their white neighbors. But the new state governments did not or could not arrange any plan by which the Indians and whites could be fairly represented in a unified government,

and the Indians would not consent to be controlled and dominated by the whites; so it was decreed that the Indians must go.

In the new Indian country, remote as it was, and isolated from communication with the settlements in the East and Middle West, there were already a few white squatters, and it was necessary to use the military authority of the United States government to eject them. Besides these white hunters and trappers there were in the territory a few of the Osage, Kiowa, Comanche and Apache tribes. These Indians were pushed to the west, and the country was eventually divided between the Five Civilized Tribes, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles.

The Creeks began to move west as early as 1810, and one section of the specially powerful Cherokee nation began to come about 1807, and settled in the Territory of Arkansas. Most of the Cherokees resisted strenuously the efforts to remove them. The history of these forced migrations continuing through more than thirty years till about 1838 has been given very fully in Grant Foreman's book, "Indian Removal." (University of Oklahoma Press, 1932.)

Tribal governments were established, on the same plan as before, as soon as any considerable number of emigrants from each tribe arrived, and were maintained until 1898. At that time the United States recognized four major Indian nations and eight smaller nations as having more or less independent jurisdiction over their own affairs. Efforts had been made to unite them into an Indian federation, but without success. Their territory was finally incorporated into the Indian Territory, the eastern part of the present state of Oklahoma.

Up to 1869 the Federal government had been in the habit of making treaties with many of the Indian tribes, as though they were separate nations, but it was only in the Indian Territory that a pretense of independent national life was maintained. Here until the end of the nineteenth century there were twelve considerable areas, each maintaining a

separate political administration independent of the United States.

There had been much intermarriage between the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes and the whites, both in the South and after their removal to the Indian country. Many white adventurers had come into the country despite laws against it, and they or their half-breed offspring sometimes gained control or had large influence in the governments of the several nations, and used their power for personal advantage. The territory of the several nations, each with its separate jurisdiction, naturally became a refuge for fugitives from justice. There was with each nation a resident agent of the Federal government, and United States courts were eventually set up to have jurisdiction. There was a sort of extraterritoriality in the relations between white men and Indians similar to that in China, with results equally unsatisfactory.

For many reasons, after the close of the nineteenth century, it was not possible for the Federal government to continue yielding to the small Indian nations the exclusive and complete political control of the territory assigned to them. New treaties had been made with them after the Civil War by which they ceded back to the United States a considerable part of their unoccupied land in the western part of the territory. In 1889 this land was opened to white settlement, with one of the most spectacular rushes in American history to secure land for homes. In fifteen years more the whole Territory was opened for settlement, practically all the Indians had been given allotments, and the Territory of Oklahoma was united with the territories of the several Indian nations to form one state.

Long before the bulk of the migration to the regions west of the Mississippi had begun, missions had been undertaken in that area by the United Foreign Missionary Society in 1819, and by the American Board in 1820. The first was started among the Osages at Union Mission, somewhat north of the present city of Muskogee, Oklahoma. The location of

the American Board mission for the emigrant Cherokees was at first near what is now Russellville, Arkansas, just above Little Rock. In 1825 the United Foreign Missionary Society was merged with the American Board. In this frontier country at that time the conveniences of life were so hard to secure that one settler burned the missionary's stranded flat-boat to salvage the nails and corner irons.

In 1829 the Cherokees were again moved farther west beyond the Arkansas border, and their mission was reëstablished about forty miles east of Muskogee. The Presbyterians maintain a school at that point, called Old Dwight, near Marble City, Oklahoma. This second removal of the Cherokees was a considerable disturbance to the progress of Christianity. Many of the Indians were dissatisfied with the treaty.

When the missionaries arrived in the Indian country the Cherokees who had migrated early had been engaged in a war which threatened to exterminate their neighbors, the Osages. But it was not long until the influence of the missionaries and the Christian Indians began to be felt. David Brown, mentioned in an earlier chapter, was made secretary to the Cherokee government, and helped in the establishment of the Grand Council. He had planned to offer himself as a missionary to his own people, but gained great influence with the Cherokee settlers in Arkansas, and helped to build up the government on Christian principles. When this Grand Council met in 1826 they summoned the missionary to open the session with prayer, and asked him to attend all the sessions as chaplain, and to conduct daily prayers and preach Sunday, agreeing to suspend business on that day. The influence of the Christian group of Indians is further indicated by the successful effort of one of them to follow and persuade a party of Cherokees, already started for an attack on the Osages, near the Union Mission, to return to their village.

The progress of the Indians had been very considerable, even in the few years since they had come from east of the Mississippi. A report of 1828 says:

"A greater number of the people are engaged in agricultural pursuits every year; their houses are generally more comfortable and convenient than those of white people in the surrounding settlements. Most of them have gardens in which they cultivate all the important vegetables. Generally they raise corn and cotton, not only for the supply of their families, but considerable for market. All have some stock of cattle, horses, hogs, and many are getting sheep. They have poultry of all kinds in abundance. A very great improvement has been made in dress. All, both men and women, wear shoes and stockings. A great part of their clothing is manufactured in their own families. Most of them have tables, knives, forks, spoons, plates, cups and saucers. There are not now consumed as many gallons of ardent spirits in a year as there were barrels when we first came here. Lewdness, polygamy and conjugal infidelity are now disgraceful, and we have not heard of an instance of infanticide in two years. The belief in witchcraft is now fast declining. A considerable number now regard the Sabbath as a day of rest."

After the removal from Arkansas territory a new danger to the progress of Christianity developed with the knowledge that the Indians were to receive considerable sums of money from the government as a compensation for the lands and improvements they had given up. Traders from various parts of the western country flocked in with large supplies of whisky. A writer in 1830 commented on the vain delusion that the Indians could be removed so far away to the west that the enterprising but unprincipled white men could not reach them.

It seemed to be a theory of the Federal government, in partial extenuation of the selfish motive for getting rid of the Indians to make room for white settlers, that the Indians might be guarded from the temptations and demoralizing influences of the rough element on the frontier if they were pushed far enough away. But no one imagined that the white trader, much less the honest and constructive settler, would push on to the very coasts of the Pacific Ocean; and that the

segregation of the Indian was an impossible as well as a mistaken policy.

When the emigrant Indians from the Five Civilized Tribes began to move in great companies across the Mississippi the transfer and development of their institutions became, for the next few decades, the groundwork of the history of Christian missions in that region. In 1838 the new situations created by the general migration began to affect very strongly the religious work. The Brainerd Cherokee church of Tennessee left in the autumn of that year, twenty years after the founding of the station. Three of the missionaries accompanied them. The migrating churches brought with them Indian preachers who had begun to be influential in their old homes and were destined to play a large part in the development of the new country. Among them was the Cherokee, Rev. Stephen Foreman, who in 1842 became the first superintendent of schools under the Cherokee government. John Huss, another Indian, began a ministry to an Indian church in the new country which was unusually successful and continued for many years until his death. Those who in modern times delay putting responsibility upon Indian leaders may well recall the strong Christian workers among the Five Civilized Tribes developed or called out within the first quarter century of mission work among them.

It was almost inevitable that the early emigrants, though considerably in the minority, should clash with the newcomers of the later migration who attempted to move their own government institutions over with them to the new land. There was still another group among the Cherokees, the small number who had been responsible for signing the treaty of removal against the wishes of the great majority of the nation. The struggles between these three factions greatly complicated and hindered the progress of Christian work for many years.

President Jackson's force policy was being carried out in the Indian country as it had been in the South. The military

officials in charge of the Indians sought to force upon the Cherokees the power of a minority government, which was now subservient to the wishes of the Jackson administration, as they had formerly yielded to the demands of the authorities in the matter of removal. When President Tyler in 1841 recognized the rights of the Cherokees and began negotiations for a settlement with them the internal dissensions were by no means quieted, for the question of dividing between the parties the payments to be made by the United States government became a still more demoralizing cause of strife and a more serious hindrance to religious work.

We should not suppose that the invasion of this western country by such large movements of Indians from the South was entirely unopposed by the scattered and wandering tribes which had roamed over the region, or by the white squatters who had to be forcibly ejected by United States troops. The disturbed condition of affairs particularly hindered the establishment of Christianity. Young men were easily led off into fighting instead of into constructive work, through the apparent necessity of defending their homes. Only gradually did the disciplined forces of the United States government take over the task of maintaining peace between the tribes. The Indians readily understood the incompatibility between religion and fighting. When Christianity was urged upon the Ojibways they admitted its truth and its value, but told the missionary: "We cannot pray now, we must go to war, and we cannot fight and pray too."

Another complication in the life of these Indian nations was the presence of many Negro slaves who had been brought with them in their transfer across the Mississippi. That the Five Civilized Tribes should have acquired the practice of slavery with other characteristics of civilization is one of the ironies of history.

Among other obstacles which the missionaries encountered in continuing their work with the Indians who had migrated west was a new attitude by some government officials toward

their work. The missionaries' sturdy defense of the rights of the Indians in Georgia had seriously hindered the government's plans for removal. Some of the government agents had decided that mission work was an obstacle to that inconsiderate and arbitrary control of the Indians which became characteristic of the government policy under and after the time of Andrew Jackson. A government agent among the Creeks had forbidden preaching or any missionary operations, and in 1837 the Creeks presented a petition to the agent requesting that missionaries and teachers of all denominations be removed. One influence which led to the renewal of Christian work was the coming of many white settlers from the South, not all of them unprincipled and irreligious. Many were members of Baptist and Methodist churches. The Negro slaves, who were gradually increasing among the Indians, had also been influenced by the teachings of these churches, and responded better to religious work than did their Indian masters. Among the Chickasaws at one time two-thirds of the church members were said to be Negroes.

In spite of better organization and better trained workers in the missions from the Northern states, the following of the Southern churches was larger and more steadily growing, because the increasing white community was largely affiliated with those churches. The well-organized and capably directed missions trained leaders of the Indians, but the mass of the people connected themselves with religious organizations more indigenous to the region.

Methodists had developed Christian work among the Five Civilized Tribes in the Southern states before the removal and had evidently won a large number of converts. Their organizations seem to have depended, as did those of the Baptists, to a considerable extent upon local or itinerant preachers. In 1845 the Methodists divided, and most of the work in Indian Territory was placed in charge of the southern branch. In 1862 there was an Indian Methodist Conference with two districts, twenty-five circuits and twenty-nine mis-

sionaries. They had thirteen churches among the Cherokees, with 1,583 Indian members, 608 Indian Christians among the Creeks, and nearly eleven hundred Choctaw Christians in twenty churches. There were three boarding schools in operation.

Evan Jones, the great Baptist missionary, went to the west after the bulk of the Indians had removed there, and was associated with John Ross, chief of the Cherokees, in defense and relief of the Indians during the Civil War. In 1843 he was publishing *The Cherokee Messenger*, in English and Cherokee, on the press set up by the Baptist mission at Shawanoe. During the westward migration the Baptist Indians kept together, religious services were held regularly, and one hundred and seventy were baptized. By 1841 there were six hundred members in the Cherokee Baptist churches, and in 1858 the number had increased to fifteen hundred. In 1847 they had five stations among the Cherokees with six white missionaries and five Indian preachers. They were adding members to their churches among the Cherokees at the rate of over one hundred a year. In 1863 their membership among the Five Tribes was: Cherokees, 1,800; Creeks, 2,599; Choctaws and Chickasaws, 1,600; Seminoles, 367; besides considerable numbers from among the Blanket Tribes further west.

The Old School Presbyterians, who had formerly worked through the American Board, had sent a missionary among the Choctaws west of the Mississippi by 1842. During the next fifteen years they established several stations and boarding schools among the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles. In 1853 they had two Indians preparing for the ministry. Their accessions to the churches were never very large, as they apparently were very strict in their requirements for membership.

One of the strong missionaries among the Cherokees in the South, Dr. Worcester, removed with the Indians and established the printing press of the American Board at the famous

Park Hill station, close to the Cherokee capital, Tahlequah. Here he issued millions of pages of Christian literature in the language of the several Civilized Tribes, which did so much to forward their Christian civilization. With him was associated that Elias Boudinot, the Cherokee Indian, first editor of *The Cherokee Phoenix*, published by that nation at their old capital, New Echota, in Georgia. By 1843 the Cherokee government in the new territory had itself bought a press and types, and in the next year began the publication of a national newspaper, partly in English and partly in Cherokee.

A notable illustration of the strategy of missions through the provision of Christian literature was the increasing value set upon books in the Cherokee language, especially the Bible. Two individual Indians in 1833 subscribed for six hundred copies of a new edition of the Gospel of Matthew. There was a society of Indians procuring and distributing Cherokee Testaments, hymn-books and tracts. They planned to furnish the whole nation with the books as soon as they were printed. In 1834 the Cherokee Bible Society was recognized as a branch of the American Bible Society, and in 1844 raised \$150 for the distribution of Bibles.

The progress of temperance through the temperance societies organized by the missionaries was steady. In industry and the common arts of life there was considerable advance. Dr. Butler, one of the best known of the American Board missionaries, was called by the Cherokee government to be its special adviser in the erection and administration of the two high schools which were to be maintained out of national funds. At this time the missionaries were able to point to Indians prominent in public life who had lived thirty years as consistent Christians. In the year 1852 there appeared at the annual meeting of the American Board a young Indian preacher, Allen Wright, about to begin a great historic ministry among the Choctaw people. His son, Frank Hall Wright, was one of the greatest of Indian evangelists.

One of the most notable chapters in the history of missions

among the Civilized Tribes is the record of work among the emigrant Choctaws, the centennial of which was celebrated in the summer of 1932 by a pageant written and staged by Miss Mary Foreman, principal of Wheelock Academy at Millerton, Oklahoma, a government school which carries on the service of the great missionary, Dr. Alfred Wright. Miss Foreman is a granddaughter of the Indian leader, Stephen Foreman. The Choctaws had begun their migration to the west in 1830 and by 1848 the last group had arrived in the new Indian country. A Christian traveler reports meeting with an encampment of two thousand of these Christian Choctaws on their way, and sharing in one of their prayer-meetings. On arriving in the new country one of the missionaries writes:

“It should be recorded with devout gratitude that so many of the church members hold fast their integrity. Some appear to have grown in grace. I noticed one man who prayed most fervently. This individual had been lost in the Mississippi swamps and not found until the fourth day. He now shines a bright light among his people.”

Many of the new arrivals had already associated themselves with Baptist and Methodist churches. Five stations of the American Board were soon organized. Almost at once the Choctaws began to plan for law and order and education as well as religion in their new homes. In 1839 they were making decided efforts to destroy whisky in their country. They were industrious and successful farmers. Two Choctaw Indians were in training for the ministry in the American Board mission and many more in other denominations. One of them, Israel Folsom, had been educated at the Cornwall Foreign Mission School in Connecticut before he removed to the west. Later he came to be one of the leaders of the Choctaw nation. His granddaughter is now secretary of the Oklahoma Christian Endeavor Union.

The membership of the Choctaw churches of the American Board was greater at that time than of those connected with

any foreign mission of the Board except the Sandwich Islands. In 1847 the Choctaws were contributing liberally to erect houses of worship and sustain their own religious institutions. The donations from one or two of the churches exceeded a dollar per capita. The American Board reported in 1852 (*Missionary Herald*, pp. 307ff.) that there were thirteen hundred members in their churches among the Choctaws and as many more in the churches under other mission boards, so that one-eighth of the tribe were actually communicants. "The Choctaw Christians, according to their ability, were said to be more benevolent than their white brethren."

It was said of the Choctaws: "If they had the means for competent teachers, almost every child in the nation would be in school forthwith." In adjoining states men claimed that the Indian boarding schools were better than those of the whites. A unique feature was the emphasis on religion in the national schools of the Indians. Saturday and Sabbath schools were sustained at the expense of the nation. The Choctaws were, by the testimony of the whites themselves, really more civilized than their white neighbors. In 1844 the Choctaw legislature founded three seminaries for the education of boys, four for girls, and appropriated \$26,000 a year for their support. They placed these schools under the immediate instruction and management of the missionaries of four different boards. At this time the Choctaws paid school expenses for four hundred pupils in missionary and private institutions. There was also a fund for the collegiate education of promising young men.

In the early days of the missions of this region the several boards received considerable appropriations from the United States government toward their support. Congress had authorized President Monroe to distribute its first "civilization fund" for the Indians, and he decided to allocate it to the several missionary societies. Many of the boards report annual sums granted by the United States government up to \$25,000 a year. Later the established Indian governments of

the several nations made appropriations to the mission boarding schools, then, later, established schools of their own which they placed under charge of the missions, and afterward called missionaries or other Christian teachers to work in schools entirely under Indian control. It was not until after 1900 that these institutions were taken over into the educational system of the Indian Bureau.

About 1850 new difficulties began to affect the religious progress of the Five Tribes. Some of the Cherokees had caught the gold fever, and started for California. In 1852 the United States began paying annuities to the Cherokees in settlement of their claims, with the demoralizing results that always follow such distribution of funds. There was also less interest than formerly among white churches in missions to Indians. A new crusade had captured the imagination of the churches of the north, the struggle against slavery. Missions among the Five Tribes, remarkably successful as they had been, were involved with the slavery question in a way which greatly prejudiced their support by the awakened conscience of the Northern churches. The Southern Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, who had already broken with the Northern churches of the same denominations, carried on with much success, ignoring the moral issues involved in the slavery question.

As early as 1836 the committee of the American Board had advised their missionaries against the practice of buying Negro slaves of the Indians to let them work out at regular wages their purchase price. Rumors were about that the missionaries were owning slaves! In 1845 official action was taken by the Board leaving to the missionaries themselves the authority to decide whether slave-holding Indians should be admitted to the church. Very early laws had been enacted by the Choctaw and Cherokee legislatures, specifically forbidding any missionary or preacher to advocate abolition of slavery. Even teaching slaves was forbidden.

There was an official recognition and approval of slave-

holding, which the missionaries did not protest nor resist, as they did the traffic in whisky. One wonders how the whole sad course of these Indian nations during the tragic days of the Civil War might have been altered if the Christian missionaries among them had been as strong and active against slavery as they were against liquor. If they could have foreseen the tragic consequences of vacillation in this matter, they might have built up in the early days a public sentiment that would have safeguarded their people and prevented the spiritual, no less than the physical, disaster that came after the sixties.

As early as 1848 the concern of the Northern churches about slave-holding in the Indian churches had become so strong that the American Board sent a secretary to study the subject. He reported: "It is very clear that the influence of the mission is neutralized to some extent by the existence of slavery" (*Missionary Herald*, 1848, p. 348). But the missionaries did not consider it wise to endanger the future of their work by pressing the question of slave-holding, and in all probability breaking up the churches, and encouraging a drift to other denominations more tolerant in the matter.

Many did testify personally against slavery, even though the churches continued to tolerate the practice. The general state of feeling on the subject was growing more intense. In 1857 a report says: "This feeling militates in some measure against the prosperity of the (American Board) mission by awakening prejudice against the missionaries and the board itself." Conditions were recognized as unfavorable to religion, and it was not long until the inevitable happened. The missions which tolerated slave-holding could not endure with a constituency opposed to slavery. In 1859 and 1860 both American Board missions were closed.

A strange episode in the early history of Indian missions among the Five Tribes in the South had been the school for Indian boys conducted by a Baptist in Kentucky, in which the Indian pupils were waited on by the Negro slaves of the

principal. Mrs. Eaton ("John Ross and the Cherokee Indians," p. 174) says that the Indian superintendents and agents in the Indian Territory had almost all been Southern and pro-slavery. Missionaries and school teachers who were specially zealous in the dissemination of anti-slavery doctrine were summarily sent from the country. Two Baptist missionaries, Evan Jones and John B. Jones, were frequently threatened and warned to leave. Dr. S. A. Worcester was greatly handicapped in his splendidly constructive work because of his pronounced anti-slavery sentiments. One Indian agent set to work to drive out all "intruders" (principally the missionaries) from the country on the ground that they were making mischief within the tribe and interfering with its institutions, specifically slavery.

But not all the missionaries were even personally opposed to slavery. There was a large group, even under the Northern boards, that resented criticism of their mission policy. The pro-slavery missionaries said: "We believe that the Bible is the best guide for us to follow. The missionaries among the Choctaws and Chickasaws entirely repudiate the higher-law doctrine of Northern and religious fanatics." (Referring to Seward's speech in the Senate in 1850.) Quoted by Dr. Abel, in "Slave-holding Indians," etc., p. 42.

There is little question that the deliberate choice at this time by a considerable party of missionaries of a literalistic interpretation of the Bible on the question of slavery, and a rejection of that growing ethical consciousness which interpreted Christianity by the spirit rather than the letter marked the beginning of a religious stagnation, from which the Indian churches of that region have never recovered. More tragic than the physical destruction of their homes and their institutions as a result of the war, more serious than the mistake of their temporary secession from the Union, was the acceptance by the people of the Five Tribes of a reactionary religion, that refused to follow the leading of the spirit of God into the discovery of new truth as to human relations.

To probably no part of the United States did the Civil War bring greater economic and spiritual disaster than to the country of the Five Civilized Tribes. It was a no-man's land, between loyal and bleeding Kansas and the active secession states of Arkansas and Texas. The anomalous political condition of the independent Indian nations offered an attractive field for the diligent propagandists of the Confederacy. While the North took very much for granted the neutrality of the Indian nations, the agents of the South began active plans to secure their moral support, their rich economic resources and their effective man power for the Southern armies. They were at a decided advantage, because all the tribes had slaves, and had borrowed many of their institutions from the South, in which area they had lived for so many years before their migration to the Indian country.

Although the Choctaws and Chickasaws promptly accepted the urgent appeals of Indian agents and army officers (sworn servants of the Federal government who openly used their position to destroy the Union) the Cherokees, Creeks and Seminoles maintained their neutrality for a considerable time. The missionary influence among the Cherokees and the influence of free state settlers from Kansas assisted greatly.

For a time Northern and Southern forces in turn held the Indian country and devastated it, till at last, in 1863, the Northern army came back to stay and the Cherokees repudiated their alliance with the Confederacy, and abolished slavery. But more raids back and forth across the Arkansas River continued, and the sufferings of the Indians on account of hunger and destruction of their homes became intense. Mrs. Eaton says ("John Ross and the Cherokee Indians," p. 197):

"Hardly a home was left standing. The country presented a tragic picture of blackened chimneys rising from the ruins of charred homesteads, of unfenced fields overgrown with weeds and brambles, and of a destitute population, reduced to the very verge of dependency."

During and after the war some of the most outrageous and shameless pillaging of the Indians was carried on. Cattle rustling by white men was a recognized business on an immense scale. Cattle taken from the Indians was sold to the government at high prices to feed the Indian refugees from whose once-prosperous farms it had been stolen. In 1863 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported:

"No portion of our people have suffered greater calamities, have met with more overwhelming disaster or have more heroically battled for the common interests of the country than have the loyal Indians."

The *Missionary Herald* in 1864 (p. 100) published an "Appeal in Behalf of the Loyal Cherokees," signed by Chief John Ross and the Baptist missionary, Evan Jones. Concerning the plight of the Indians for whom the appeal was made the *Philadelphia American and Gazette* said editorially: "The loyal Cherokees have suffered from the Rebellion far more than has yet been known. They are now refugees." The Creeks, who had resisted the pressure of the Southern agents and endeavored to maintain their neutrality, together with the loyal Cherokees who had joined the Union army to the number of twenty-two hundred soldiers, had been compelled to flee with their families across the border into Kansas. There they remained in circumstances of extreme destitution. The activities of the Federal government agents in supplying them with food and shelter while there and eventually escorting them back to their homes were characterized by unrestrained graft and collusion with the white people of that region. Some of the grossest frauds of that period of utter demoralization after the Civil War occurred in the Indian country. With the general breakdown of moral standards among the white people it is too much to expect any progress in the work of the Christian churches among the Indians at that time.

Reconstruction days in the Indian country were, as every-

where, trying times. Factional strife among the Five Tribes flamed up anew. At a general council between commissioners of the Federal government and the Indians in 1865, where Rev. Lewis Downing, second chief of the Cherokee nation, opened the deliberations with an earnest prayer, there was a large gathering of the ablest men of the several Indian nations, one of them who had been a representative in the congress of the Confederacy; but negotiations dragged on through a long winter of terrible destitution and suffering, with white men from the adjoining states seeking to take advantage of the helplessness of the Indians and their factional strifes for personal profit and the acquisition of more land out of the Indian reserves. The Federal government, of course, represented the interests of the white people, and secured for them decided advantages. Under such conditions it will not be a matter of surprise that the life of the Indian churches was at a low ebb.

Naturally much of the missionary effort among the Five Civilized Tribes had come under the mission boards of the Southern churches, or was done by missionaries with Southern interests. Support which had come from Northern churches was cut off during the war, and the promise that the Southern churches would do more for the Indians than those of the North could not be fulfilled on account of the economic conditions of the reconstruction period. Slowly and with difficulty the weakened Southern churches resumed the work, though apparently the Indians were generally compelled to drift along largely on their own spiritual and financial resources.

Northern Baptists and Presbyterians came in again after the war. Baptist missions were taken up with energy in 1865, when the American Baptist Home Missionary Society took over the work of the Missionary Union. This Society secured certain indemnities from the government. They received a grant of land from the Cherokee legislature for new mission premises, built an establishment at the Cherokee cap-

ital, and replaced the mission press. In 1880 they began a mission school at Tahlequah. Through the active efforts of three Indian ministers, a Baptist, a Methodist and a Presbyterian, the Creek legislature was also persuaded to grant them one hundred and sixty acres of land near the city of Muskogee as a site of Bacone College, at present the only institution of college grade for Indians. Until 1912 Northern and Southern Baptists had an agreement concerning their work in this region, but at that time the Oklahoma Baptist Convention decided to affiliate with the Southern Baptists and all the Indian work except that in the western part of the state and the college was turned over to them. Most of the Indian Baptist churches in eastern Oklahoma were at that time regarded as self-supporting.

Northern Presbyterians began missionary efforts again in 1866. In 1902 they had sixteen white ministers and eight Indian preachers with twenty-five churches and 679 members. The number of white workers has since very much decreased, and there is little vigor in the two separate presbyteries, affiliated with the Northern and the Southern churches. In 1902 the Presbyterian Woman's Board had seven boarding schools in the country of the Five Tribes. Now there remains only a single school, "Old Dwight," perpetuating the memories of the first mission station after the double removal across the Mississippi, and across the borders of Arkansas.

Present conditions of Christian work among Indians of eastern Oklahoma are not encouraging. Neglect and indifference of white Christian neighbors, the rivalry of sects, the perpetuation of pre-war denominational divisions, the dominance of reactionary religious bodies, jealous and competitive, give little hope for immediate spiritual revival. The greatest weakness in the Indian churches is, however, spiritual dependence. Trained to look largely to white leadership and financial support from white churches and mission boards their spiritual energy and initiative is largely atrophied. In 1894, thirty years after the catastrophe of the

Civil War and reconstruction, when economic conditions should have become fairly normal, a special agent of the Census Bureau reported on the religious situation of the Cherokees (Extra Census Bulletin, "The Five Civilized Tribes," 1894, pp. 38-40):

"Indians who are highly educated, wealthy and traveled, men who have succeeded as farmers, mechanics, physicians, lawyers, teachers, politicians or diplomats, receive the assistance of the charitable and benevolent people of the world as a matter of course. We can see here a people educated, living in one of the best countries . . . receiving its spiritual nourishment from outside sources as a matter of right. . . . Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists vie with each other in their efforts to elevate this people, who are richer than their benefactors."

Mr. Meredith cordially acknowledges the good work of the missionaries, but repeatedly emphasizes the fatal defect in governmental and missionary policies. He says:

"The effect of the mission work among this people is evident, for they are preëminently a religious people, . . . but the most enterprising citizen of the Cherokee nation considers it quite the thing for the whites to furnish him his spiritual sustenance. . . . It is a question how far the solicitude of the government for their physical comfort, assisted by the missionary societies for their spiritual safety, has tended to teach the Cherokees self-reliance and independence. . . . Their present condition is a language without a literature, a government with no authority, a code of laws with no force."

The great invention of the Cherokee alphabet was never utilized except for tracts and hymn-books and portions of the Scripture printed by the missionaries and a few volumes of obsolete laws. The important history of the Cherokee nation is preserved almost wholly in missionary records. The Indians of the Five Tribes had a strong interest in education,

the legislatures appropriated money for schools; but they let the mission boards support the churches.

In 1894 there were 786 Indian churches among them, maintained by 18 Protestant denominations, besides Roman Catholics. These churches listed 28,571 members. Since that time several groups of denominational churches have completely dropped out of the Indian field in eastern Oklahoma. The Disciples of Christ had 73 churches in 1894; now none; the Cumberland Presbyterians had 52 churches; none at present. Those denominations which still report churches and members have decreased greatly. The Southern Methodist had 274 churches with 9,683 members in 1894, though the seating capacity of their churches was 24,000. Now they report 55 churches with a membership of 2,687. Southern Baptists reported 181 churches with 9,147 members, and capacity for 18,500 attendants. Now they report 96 churches with 4,791 members. The total number of churches among the Five Tribes in 1931 was about 200, compared with 786 in 1894, and about 8,700 members compared with 28,600. Five Protestant denominations are now at work, one having only a single church, instead of 18 in 1894. (See H. K. Carroll's Church Statistics in Extra Census Bulletin for 1894; compare Report of Religious Work among Indians in Oklahoma, made under the direction of Dean Paul L. Vogt of the Survey Committee of the Oklahoma Council of Churches.)

In 1894 Presbyterians were maintaining eleven mission schools among the Five Tribes; Baptists, six; Methodists, three, and Congregationalists one. There remain only two Baptist and two Presbyterian missionary institutions for Indians, though Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians have large schools which receive some Indians, with whites.

One cannot avoid real distress in reviewing this apparently tremendous decline in the religious life of the Five Civilized Tribes. But, in view of the succession of economic and spiritual catastrophes which have again and again menaced the very life of the Christian churches among these Indians need

we be surprised if there is little left but a broken reed and smoking flax? The significant question, however, is whether missions and government alike have not made a fatal mistake in encouraging the spiritual dependence of the Indians, in spite of devoted and sacrificial efforts to help them. Is there a future for the Indian Christian churches of eastern Oklahoma? The reawakening of these historic churches depends upon an intelligent and vitally contagious spirit of fellowship from their neighboring white Christians.

VIII

INDIANS IN THE SOUTHWEST

SPANISH exploration and conquest in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries extended north from Mexico to the Colorado River and into Kansas and east to the Mississippi. The objectives were primarily the large Indian villages or pueblos scattered along the course of the Rio Grande. Little attempt was made to subjugate or to Christianize the roving tribes, Navajos, Apaches, and Comanches. Some of the pueblo-dwelling Indians, Hopis and Zunis, refused even nominal submission to the king of Spain and the pope. Bancroft ("History of Arizona and New Mexico," p. 174) says of the religious ideas of these Indians: "They seem to have been more strongly attached than most American tribes to their aboriginal faith, and they had secretly continued so far as possible the practice of their old forms of worship."

These pueblo Indians still attract a disproportionate amount of attention, as they did from the Spaniards, compared with the large numbers of the other Indian tribes in the Southwest. During more than a hundred years these tribes were almost completely neglected by Roman Catholic as well as Protestant churches. One of the best pictures of the ecclesiastical conditions of the early times, showing the good and the evil of the Roman Catholic régime, is given by Willa Cather's "Death Comes to the Archbishop." One need not be prejudiced against Roman Catholics to be conscious of a sense of dissatisfaction with the stage of Christianization to which the Indians had been brought.

It was not till the latter part of the nineteenth century that

missions were actively begun again in the Southwest after the long period of neglect. The situation was peculiarly difficult. Attempts by Protestants to work among the pueblo dwellers encountered an intense religious conservatism, which had adjusted itself to one form of Christianity, and was less inclined than ever to yield to another. Among the nomadic tribes as well as among the pueblos there was a more developed and more valuable culture than that found among the plains Indians of the Central West and North. These nomadic Indians had adapted themselves to the peculiar conditions of a semi-arid country, and were in less danger of being crowded out by the advance of the pioneer settlers. The Comanches and the Kiowas were in the east part of the territory, and the Apaches and Navajos in the west.

In spite of the claim that the Navajos were fierce warriors, fair witnesses admit they were generally more sinned against than sinning. They resisted strongly and effectively, like the great Indian confederacies of the East and like the Sioux of the North, until they were overpowered. In 1863 they were moved from the high plains of northeastern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico, and taken to a low alkali region on the River Pecos in Texas, where they suffered great hardships and many died. It was their Babylonian captivity. About five years later they were allowed to return and since then have been rather distinguished among Indians as a hard-working, resourceful, unwarlike people, intensely conservative, resistant to change and education, and anxious to preserve their isolation and the purity of their blood and their culture.

This was not so difficult in the past, for few wanted more of their country than a passage through it on the railroad. It is only in recent years that the movement of tourists, taking the place of the movement of settlers through the country, has made their isolation generally impracticable. Nowadays there is more interest in the Indians of the Southwest than in almost any other group, because of their advanced though

indigenous culture, their picturesque customs, their unique village architecture, their love of color and their artistic sense, their industry and skill and sturdy self-reliance.

When the Navajos had been restored to their reservation in 1869, they began to attract the attention of archeologists and explorers rather than missionaries. There was less of that spirit of missionary pioneering that had led Samuel Parker to visit the Pacific Coast and others to push into the deep woods of the North, and still earlier had prompted the explorations in the South and Central West of Samuel Mills and Isaac McCoy. After the archeologists and the explorers came the artists and the students of folklore and customs. They found a rich and little altered field of cultural life, because the Roman Catholic influence through all the years since the Spanish invasion had added only a few distinctive habits of new ecclesiastical conformity, with no practical change in any of the old forms of life. The varied specimens of Indian art from the Southwest, the basket-work, blankets, pottery and metal work, skilfully and shrewdly produced to meet commercial demands, now occupy the thought of many white people, in the place of concern such as used to affect them for the Indian's spiritual welfare.

There has developed a popular movement to preserve the picturesqueness of the old life, and to maintain the old Indian culture in that striking natural environment which has inspired the imagination of Indian as well as white artists. Much worth-while work has been done by the new friends of these Indians, the artists and the sentimentalists, in guarding them from the exploitation of callous white men, indifferent to their ideal life and concerned only for personal profit. But in their interest in Indian art, these friends often ignored the need of proper food and sanitation and modern education and the conveniences of civilization. Indians in one pueblo who had purchased modern stoves were persuaded to discard them for the old fireplace in the corner with the open smoke hole in the roof. In spite of an over-supply of the distinctive

products of Indian art, blankets and silver-smithing, Indians are urged to devote themselves to their specialized industries, instead of going to the soil as their fathers did for the production of food and the establishment of an adequate basis of life.

Many of the Field Service workers of the United States Indian Bureau and the mission workers who have come into the Southwest have recognized the inadequacy of art production as a complete program for the economic life of the Indian. Buying cheap cotton factory blankets in order that they may weave expensive wool for tourists, and buying coffee and flour from the trader at high prices while they give themselves to art work may be very idealistic, but it does not secure economic progress as does producing their own food from the soil by their own efforts.

On account of these special conditions it is not difficult to understand that there is a much wider interest in the general situation of the Southwest Indians, though not necessarily in their religious progress. The large Indian population of Oklahoma attracts little attention, while the Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, only about a quarter of the total number, are widely advertised and commercialized. This situation has seriously affected the success of Christian missions and the progress of Christian civilization among these Indians. Many whites declare strongly against any interference with the religious practices of these people, and insist that the results of missionary work have only been the destruction of their old cultures without substituting anything better.

It is therefore of peculiar importance to know what has been done by Christian missions in the Southwest, and the prospects for the future. If the culture and religion of these Indians is regarded by many as something to be protected and preserved, if Christian civilization is thought likely to bring to these people more harm than good in the breakdown of their old traditions, if their experiences of the selfishness and insincerity of white invaders of their country has armed

them for a mental resistance based on a sense of self-sufficiency even stronger than their physical resistance to the white man's ways, it will be quite evident that this section of the Indian country will furnish an unusual test of the value and success of Christian missions among American Indians. In other sections such an effort for Christianization of the Indians is largely taken for granted and its success acknowledged. But the present general skepticism about Indian missions is based largely on the idea, now being diligently promoted, that the interesting and valuable culture of the Southwest Indians does not need transformation or stimulus from Christianity, and that more real values are likely to be destroyed than created by propagandists of another religion.

In the long period of comparative neglect of the Indians of the pueblos by both Spanish padres and Protestant missionaries, there is evidence that God did not leave Himself without a witness among them. The *Congregationalist*, April 28, 1932, reports a curious story of a Zuni Indian who was taken to Mexico sometime between 1810 and 1820 to be trained for the priesthood. While there he discovered a Spanish Bible, which he read eagerly in secret. He returned to Zuni pueblo before 1820, but not as a priest. Instead he gave to his people a new interpretation of the Great Spirit which they had ignorantly worshipped. Reports that have come down to us through those who were his disciples represent him as a veritable Luther who boldly proclaimed the Gospel of Christ. Thirty-two years later Samuel Gorman, the Baptist home missionary who began work in Laguna pueblo, sixty miles west of Albuquerque, found an Indian disciple of this unknown prophet, a Laguna Indian who had married a Zuni woman. He came back to his home bringing the new doctrine, and had considerable success in introducing it among his people. He felt that his changed conception of God, involving recognition of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, required a definite change in the outward expression of worship. The

traditional method of worship among the Indians was through the dance, and he introduced "The Black Mask Round Dance to the Holy Ghost," certainly one of the strangest forms of protest against old superstitions. The sincerity of this seeker after God was evidenced by the fact that he was one of the first Indians to visit the new missionary when he came to Laguna in 1852, and the first to receive baptism. When he found the Bible on the missionary's table, he read it for hours, every now and then exclaiming, "Buen libro! Buen libro!" (Good book!)

Although the Baptists began a work among the Keres Indians at Laguna pueblo as early as 1852, and continued it for several years, the real beginning of modern missions to the Indians of the Southwest was in 1876, when the Presbyterian, Rev. John Menaul, began his ministry at Laguna and extended it to other pueblos. Christian contacts with the pueblo dwellers have been peculiarly difficult and barren of results. But most of the Protestant religious work is in its preliminary stages and of such comparatively recent origin that large results ought not to be expected. The forces tending to divert attention of Indians and whites alike from the importance of the Christian message are very active. In Laguna, however, there seems to have been an unusual response. The government Indian superintendent reports 700 Protestant Indian Christians there, while in other pueblos practically the entire population is stated as connected with the Roman Catholic church.

Very recently there has been a change in the attitude of some of the most conservative pueblos due to the work of a Presbyterian missionary in acquiring the language of the people. Previous contacts have been made usually in Spanish or English. Now a missionary from Japan claims to have found an apparent similarity between the language of seven of the pueblos and primitive Japanese, and has been able to put portions of the New Testament into the language of some of the most intolerant Indian groups. He has been

welcomed even in the homes on the precipitous cliff of the sky city of Acoma, where ordinarily the visitor is only allowed to enter on the payment of a dollar admission fee.

There is much reason to believe that missionaries who get away from the language of the conquerors and approach these Indians in the home language of their hearts and their religious ideas will have as friendly and as responsive a welcome as they have in any other group. A sympathetic appreciation of the Indian's own religious thinking and his deep consciousness of nature around him, expressed in the language in which his religious ideas have from childhood come to him, is pretty sure to win for the missionary a welcome and a response. Perhaps the language of Spanish and American adventurers who have subjugated and exploited these Indians is psychologically unfavorable to the transmission to them of spiritual ideas.

As early as 1868 the Presbyterians had sent a missionary to the Navajos, but the work was soon abandoned. The peculiar difficulties of working with this nomadic people, the Arabs of America, about forty-two thousand of them, spread over more than twenty thousand square miles, has limited evangelization. Those who read La Farge's "Laughing Boy" will have some suggestion of the vast stretches of sparsely occupied country, extending north into Utah and Colorado, where these Navajos wander. Missionaries and mission boards accustomed to established institutions and settled habitations find it hard to minister to such a people, who may be interested when contact is established, but do not stay long enough for permanent results.

It is not that the Navajos are hostile or unresponsive. In some respects they are very friendly. But they are not town-dwellers, and it has been hard to find the itinerant missionary who can live with them and teach them where and as they are. They come in to the hospitals, the schools and the churches, often from a considerable distance, but they do not seem to belong there; the institution seems to be an alien

thing in their lives, to which they come for some material benefit rather than for a cultural home.

There does not appear to have been any tribal social center among the Navajos in the old social order. They did get together occasionally for an extended "sing" by the medicine man in connection with the treatment of some sick person, but ordinarily they lived an independent isolated life, with only bush shelters in the summer, and the permanent winter house or hogan often abandoned or burned if there was a death in the family.

Although considerable numbers of the Navajos have been educated in the government and mission schools and have shown fine promise in their work yet even the educated young men and women have found it most difficult to work out a new economic life in the old nomadic conditions. Sheep raising, blanket weaving and silver-smithing fit in with their wandering desert life, but until the pastoral stage has been passed, and the village life established as a new stage in social evolution, the stabilizing of an advanced economic life and organized religion will be as difficult as it was among the Hebrew patriarchs. There are doubtless men and women of spiritual insight among the Navajos, as there were in the days of old Israel, but the pastoral stage is not favorable to the development of fixed institutions.

In their book, "The Navajos," Dane and Mary Coolidge speak very sympathetically of the mission work. They say:

"From an educational standpoint the work of the Protestant denominations and the Roman Catholic orders is of great importance in the program of socializing and assimilating the Navajos. In the beginning, following the methods of the Christian churches in other fields, the conversion of the Indians to one sect or another was their primary object. But as the missionaries became familiar with their field they saw that local day and boarding schools and hospitals were the most practicable means of reaching the tribe; and in recent years visiting from hogan to hogan has become the practice of them all. The establishment of centers where facilities for

cooking, sewing and bathing are combined with clinics, religious teaching and social assemblies, is the most recent expansion of mission activities."

A strategic plan of the United States Indian Service is the erection of community houses where the Navajos may gather for agricultural and educational meetings and discussions. Often the only edifice for miles is the building put up by the government, sometimes called the "Navajo Home," or, in the language of the people, "Dineh Bagan." It seems probable that with such encouragement settled habits of the Navajos will develop, especially if such centers are used for religious meetings and for recreation and interesting instruction as well as for the practical industrial work of government farmers and of home extension workers. The ideal life of the nature-loving Navajo can be associated with a settled institution and its activities if the life of the spirit dominates it. There is a unique opportunity for the missionary and the government worker to use together these new community houses in the spirit of understanding and sympathy with the Navajo people, rather than simply as an extension of centralized and established institutionalism.

The missions have not neglected the effort to bring Christianity to the Navajos, even though they have found it difficult to do so in any other than the conventional and institutionalized way, so foreign to the natural life of the people. In 1895 the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist church began work in San Juan county, in the northwestern section of New Mexico. In 1902 the entire plant, including school and industrial buildings and a good hospital was turned over to the Presbyterian board, and the work was pushed with a resident physician as well as in educational and evangelistic lines. The year previously a station had also been started at Ganado, Arizona, where now a large mission village has grown up in the desert with its hospital and nurses' home, its school and church and large staff of

missionaries, holding out all the attractions and illustrations of civilization to the wandering Navajos. This great plant, functioning most effectively under the leadership of a great missionary executive, Dr. Salisbury, is sixty miles from the railroad at Gallup, N. M., and thirty miles from any other missionary center. It is the center of a series of community and health stations, with resident workers, at distances of thirty to fifty miles. Some of these workers go out for camp clinics a hundred miles farther from their stations, a magnificent effort to reach by institutional means a scattered, wandering people.

If only we knew how to bridge the gap between the simple pastoral shepherd life which they lead and the complex, elaborate and far more rewarding life of the advanced modern civilization! The mission work among the Navajos waits for an interpreter and a leader, a prophet from the missionary body or preferably from their own people who can be their Moses to lead them into the promised land for which their natural abilities and character so well fit them. The outstanding leaders among the Navajos, who have received education, and then have taken the step forward into modern industrialized society, have shown how splendid are the possibilities of this people. The Coolidges say: "There is imperative need for new leadership among the school graduates not only to substitute for their ancient animistic beliefs a religion of social service, but even more to carry out the economic and educational projects of the government." Let no one be deluded by the pleas of sentimentalists urging the preservation of the simple, natural life of these desert nomads, with its exposure and hunger and disease and strenuous futile effort. Christianity, with all its social implications, has more in store for the Navajos than even the most beautiful of their traditions and their arts and their patient industry.

Many of the missionaries are, as a matter of fact, learning to live and work with the Navajos in their camps out in the mountains wherever summer pasturage brings together a little

group with their sheep. Presbyterians and Christian Reformed missionaries specialize in camp work, going off for weeks at a time with tent and bedding and food, and a stereopticon and singing-books and Scripture portions or religious pamphlets in the Navajo language. In this work Christian Navajos give effective assistance, either as interpreters or as preachers on their own account.

The developing social organization of the Navajos is also being used in a strategic way by the missionaries. Many of the elected representatives of the twelve chapters into which the tribe is divided are Christian men, and they are acquiring an increasing influence in the councils of the tribe, especially in the annual Tribal Council. This great expression of growing social consciousness is held each year at the Fort Wingate government school. The Indian Commissioner from Washington and most of the local Indian Service superintendents are present, with missionaries and other friends of the Indian.

Around the semicircle of the twelve official representatives are gathered a thousand or more interested Indians, men and women. This is not a show for tourists. Questions discussed are not about blankets and art, but about more schools, more and better land, oil leases and sheep dipping and good roads and adjustment to new conditions. In this representative gathering there is no plea for a return to primitive conditions, but an eager interest in improving educational and economic conditions. Only a few years ago it was necessary to hunt out the children and bring them to school under escort. Now the schools are crowded, government and mission, and there are said to be probably five thousand Navajo children not yet provided with educational privileges.

The missionaries who have worked thirty years among these people, the first fifteen years with scarcely a convert, stand amazed at the changes happening before their eyes. There is much reason to suppose that the next few years will witness an economic and social and spiritual transformation

in the life of the great Navajo tribe, the largest and most homogeneous of the remaining Indian groups.

One of the developments out of the Navajo Tribal Council, in this case led by a missionary, is the Returned Students' Council, which includes several hundred Navajo young men and women who have attended government and mission schools and are banded together with definite plans for the future progress of their people. They held their first representative conference at the Methodist mission school at Farmington, N. M., in August of 1932.

In connection with the missions of the several denominations among the Navajos there are several Indian Christians of outstanding ability. Apparently they are typical of the natural powers of this largely unspoiled Indian tribe. Unfortunately they do not seem to have been pushed forward by the missionaries into places of responsibility and leadership such as they seem able to assume. Rapid progress among these people in the future will probably depend on the opportunities opened to these Christian leaders, and the wise guidance of the missionaries in encouraging them to accept their new opportunities and responsibilities and to discover their own initiative in meeting the particular difficulties of reaching their own people.

One of the most extensive and successful pieces of Protestant effort among the Navajos is that undertaken in 1903 by the Christian Reformed church, a group of persons of Dutch ancestry, with headquarters at Grand Rapids, Mich. They established a center with church, school and hospital at a point in the desert along the line of the Santa Fé about six miles east of Gallup. They have branched out from there into a series of stations from Zuni on the south to the Colorado line. The story of this great missionary undertaking of a comparatively small group of Christians is told in a book published in 1921, "Bringing the Gospel in Hogan and Pueblo."

The Presbyterians have a number of very effective evan-

gelistic missionaries scattered over a wide field, some of them with a good command of the language and actively engaged in camp preaching and the training of Indian Christians. One of them has published a handbook of the language, specially adapted for missionaries, traders, government employees and tourists. Episcopalians have a fine hospital among the Navajos and continue as an orphanage a former hospital which turned over to the government its very successful campaign against trachoma. The Methodist boarding school at Farmington is feeling its way toward a larger service for the older Indians, as well as the children, when the way is made clear in the next step of these people beyond their present pastoral life.

The progress of the Christian Reformed church at Zuni pueblo, perhaps the most conservative of all the pueblo groups, is slow and with little definite results. But new ideas are coming in; with an end of isolation and the great increase of opportunity through the services of the government and the mission, conservatism is yielding.

One of the most interesting and picturesque of the Indian tribes in the Southwest are the Hopis, who occupy five high mesas in the middle of the Navajo desert, and who number about five thousand persons in their twelve pueblos. These villages are on abrupt barren rock tables that rise five hundred feet above the surrounding desert. The most famous of them is Walpi, a cluster of three-tier houses of adobe and rock on a narrow rock ledge, only a few rods wide. Here is held the famous Snake Dance around the Great Snake Pillar on the tiny plaza. Hundreds of tourists pay high prices to view this ceremony, which has come to be largely commercialized.

The Baptist missionaries hold open air services on the plaza, in which Hopi Christians preach and lead in the singing. Myra, the daughter of that stubborn reactionary, the old medicine man, Yokeoma, of whom Leo Crane writes so dramatically in "Desert Drums" (pp. 182 ff.), is now the

efficient and tireless interpreter for Christian speakers in the church at Polacca and in the street meetings. The Christian Hopis and those who have broken away from the old superstitions have come down from the high barren mesas, no longer necessary for protection, and have built themselves good houses, and cultivate irrigated farms. Emancipated from the thralldom of the compact clan, the public school and the church and the medical clinic and the community laundry flourish and are well patronized. The missionaries have a much better chance when the Indians are free for the development of individuality. The willingness of some of these young men and women under the new freedom to undertake active Christian work and to prepare themselves for full time service is most inspiring.

Baptists began work in this region in 1902, first at a station among the Navajos, and later, in 1910, at Keams Canyon, where the work for Navajos is associated with that among the Hopis. Though there are no Baptist Navajo churches, for the very good reason that there are no Navajo villages, there are two strong churches among the Hopis. Three others are maintained by the Mennonites, who are in the western villages. The two Baptist churches contributed \$550 to missions in 1931, some indication of vitality. The results of only twenty years of Christian work among these conservative Hopis, descendants of the tribe which massacred the Spanish and drove out the priests two hundred years ago, is a striking and encouraging testimony for Indian missions, in spite of the persistence of much of the old life in the crowded warrens of their mesa-top villages, and the revolting ceremonies of their dances which attract so many unthinking curiosity seekers.

A notable story of Christian missions among the Indians of the Southwest recounts the adventurous and successful life of Charles H. Cook among the Pimas. About 1830 the tribe began to secure cattle from the Mexicans, and gradually developed agriculture. They had for many years carried on

some cotton weaving, and had made baskets of willow for carrying water, and had done some irrigation. When the migration to California began by the Santa Fé and southern trails, the Pimas provided large supplies of wheat for the wagon trains, and did effective service in protecting the emigrants from the raids of the Apaches, who lived in the mountains farther east. They were not unwarlike, though they have never fought with United States soldiers. They held their own in constant struggles with the Apaches and made many slaves from among those nomadic warriors.

The beginnings of missions among them came at the suggestion of an army officer whose appeal in the *New York Evangelist* came to the attention of a city missionary, one of Moody's converts in Chicago. Mr. Cook decided to go out on his own charges, having had for years a conviction that he should be a missionary. It was several years before he came into touch with the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, under whom he later worked so successfully.

Mr. Cook found his way through many adventures, over the new railroad and the trail, to Santa Fé, and then from one army post to another till he reached the Pima agency, picking up Spanish on the way from the Mexican ox-team drivers with whom he traveled. Leaving Chicago in September of 1870 he reached the agency just before Christmas, and was installed as a teacher over the first government day school on the first of January. He was fortunate a few years later in the cordial coöperation of that great missionary soldier, General O. O. Howard, who had been sent out by President Grant to settle difficulties among the Indians in southern Arizona. It was the time when the Apache chief, Cochise, and his associates were laying waste the Arizona settlements and stopping communication with the Pacific Coast.

"The first day-school pupils," writes Mr. Cook, "came from three small Pima villages two or three miles distant. The children were hungry and almost naked." At first a large bush hut served for the school, but later there was a govern-

ment building. Often the missionary preached to the people in their low, smoke-filled huts, where he had to turn away occasionally from the wind-driven smoke of the open fire.

The missionary did not always have the coöperation and help of the Indian agents. After seven years' work as school teacher under the government, and constant volunteer preaching in the language of the people, he was compelled to seek employment as a trader's clerk. For two years he and his wife lived in a tent and were wakened mornings by the coyotes. A bunch of wild Indians threatened to tie him to a tree and use him as a target unless he complied with their demands. But he had been under fire in the Civil War and was not stampeded. The next day they told him that he might preach to them but should not trade. He accepted at once on condition that the Indians pay him enough so that his family could live. The Indians saw that the white man could not be scared off nor prevented from earning his living among them, so very soon he was busy with trading during the week and preaching regularly every Sunday.

Mr. Cook says ("Among the Pimas," p. 40): "During the first ten years we drew no salary from any missionary society. Twice we were driven away by wicked government agents. We often had no physician within many miles." In the latter part of the seventies Dr. Sheldon Jackson, the great Presbyterian missionary pioneer, visited Mr. Cook, and a few years later invited him to become a missionary of the Presbyterian Board. From this time on the mission grew rapidly. In 1888 the Tucson mission boarding school, which has had such a great influence among the Pimas and the Papagos, was begun. At Sacaton, where a government boarding school had succeeded to the missionary's day school, there grew up several large enterprises, a grist mill and irrigation projects, in which Mr. Cook had a large share. When the Mormon colonists in the Pima country were threatening to divert all the irrigation water from the Indian fields, and to reduce the formerly prosperous Pimas to penury and starvation it was another mis-

sionary successor, Rev. Dirk Lay, who led a long and successful campaign for the erection of the Coolidge dam, and the safeguarding of the lands of the Pimas from white aggression.

During twelve years after Mr. Cook's appointment eighty-five members were received into the church. In 1893 two large church buildings had been erected, seating one hundred and fifty to three hundred, and both were full every Sunday. Two Indian preachers had been commissioned. There was much translation work by the missionary and his helpers. In the old days the Pimas and Apaches communicated information from the villages and camps by swift runners or by the stentorian voice of a village captain shouting from the roof of his house so that he could be heard in the next village. Now the village church had become an agency for disseminating information, and, as a result of the new teachings, most of the young Pimas were able to read their newspapers and letters from their friends. The Pimas had in the short space of ten years built about a hundred and twenty houses; they had cleared new land, and were only limited in their agricultural activities by the water supply. Some of them had up to three hundred head of cattle; they had purchased within five years about forty sewing machines, and one lame Indian earned good wages as a tailor with a hand machine. The Pimas had always been self-supporting, receiving only a few wagons and agricultural implements from the government.

After General Howard had pacified the Apaches in 1872 things were quiet among them for a time, until Geronimo, the medicine man and prophet, began his raids. Finally he was captured and interned at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, where he was converted under the preaching of the great Indian evangelist, Frank Hall Wright. Though the Apaches of the Arizona mountains had asked the army officers for missionaries nothing was done among them until in 1893 when the Lutherans began a mission at Whiteriver, near the military post, Fort

Apache, which has now become the Theodore Roosevelt school. There are about five thousand of these Apaches, occupying a reservation of about eleven thousand square miles, covered with splendid forests and having much rich land. Many have settled down on farms, though most of them cling tenaciously to the customs and traditions of their people. The medicine men are still influential. The Apaches have great natural intelligence, but few are well educated, due to their unwillingness to follow the customs of the whites. The intellectual and moral progress of the tribe has been slow, though the work of the Lutherans is active and widespread, with several chapels and day schools, a boarding school and orphanage, and Christian activities in the government schools. An interesting account of this mission is given in Kaiser's "Lutheran Indian Missions."

In these mountains of southern Arizona the Presbyterian Indian churches of the Pimas have a summer assembly. In few places of the Southwest is there a more attractive retreat from the extreme heat of the plains, and rarely could one find a more challenging opportunity for intertribal Christian evangelism than among such a group of virile and still unassimilated Indians as the local Apaches. Arizona will remain for many years one of the most important and most interesting of Indian mission fields. There is reason to expect, and certainly it is to be hoped, that, in the development of Christianity among Indians there, a large share of the future constructive work will be done by the intertribal coöperation of the many promising young Christian leaders, with whom the white man has shared his vision of God and the opportunities of Christian civilization.

IX

A REVIEW OF PRESENT CONDITIONS

ONE hundred years after the Nez Perce Indians sent out their little band two thousand miles to the frontier post of St. Louis to find the "White Man's Book of Heaven," of which Lewis and Clark had told them, their descendants had developed flourishing, self-supporting Christian churches, and had commissioned their own Christian preachers as evangelists to other Indian tribes. Their outstanding leader, Rev. James Hayes, had been granted the degree of doctor of divinity because of his distinguished services in evangelism and the promotion of missionary interest. A committee of citizens of Idaho reported to the Department of the Interior concerning the social and economic advance of the Nez Percés conditions which should be an index of the vitality of their Christian life:

"The more humble homes we found to consist of at least two rooms, with sufficient furniture and cooking arrangements to provide for the necessities of the family, while the better homes are larger, running into half a dozen or more rooms, all neatly furnished and well kept. Family life is unusually developed. The interests of the parents in the welfare of their children, and their efforts to do the best possible for them is an outstanding characteristic. Such prime necessities as food and clothing are provided in abundance. We did not find a child giving evidence of being undernourished, nor one that was not decently and comfortably clothed. The Nez Percés are not content, however, with the necessities for these children; suitable books and pictures were found in practically all the homes visited, while piano, victrolas and radios were present in many of them, revealing the fact that the parents are endeavoring to develop the cultural side of

life as well as interesting the children in those things that make for the enrichment and enjoyment of the home life."

After ninety-six years, since Spalding first came to the Nez Perces, in spite of the long period of twenty-four years after the Whitman massacre when they were without a missionary, these Indians have advanced so far in Christian civilization that the Presbyterian Board of National Missions has felt its task among them is largely done, and leaves the future Christian culture of these people to their own churches and to the fellowship of their white brethren in the communities where they live.

In 1860 the missionaries of the American Missionary Association, who had established four stations in the Cass Lake and Red Lake region of northern Minnesota, were compelled to abandon their work because the Ojibway Indians, under the influence of the white man's fire water, made conditions of life intolerable. Seventy years later a cultured Indian clergyman of this tribe had charge of practically all the church work among the Indians of this region. Indian clergymen are conducting services in a large number of churches, ministering to about equal numbers of white and Indian parishioners. Large numbers of the Indians are living in towns, under good conditions, and with all the advantages of the public schools and other community privileges. The Indian children of this section began going to the public schools with the white children soon after the year 1900.

Within fifty years after the Minnesota massacre in which six or seven hundred white persons lost their lives, the Dakota (Sioux) Indians were practically all affiliated with Christian churches, Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian or Congregational. Probably two hundred Indian preachers are in charge of Protestant churches scattered over the prairies of the Dakotas and Montana. Several well-trained Indians are general missionaries among their own people in this area. In spite of drouth and grasshopper plagues, infertile soil and

bad roads, the Dakota Indians are doing fairly well as farmers. They have agricultural fairs and a bulletin which records the farming news and social events of the reservation just like a country paper in the East. Their summer assemblies, the Niobrara Convocation of the Episcopalians, and the Annual Meeting of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, are notable features in their new Christian social life. The churches and church activities form the vital centers of the developing communities.

The Pimas in southern Arizona have their own preachers, well-filled churches, and large general conferences which are effective opportunities for evangelism, as they attract many non-Christians. Evangelists are sent out by these Christians to other tribes. Since the Coolidge dam has provided them with irrigation for their fields, and their lands have been kept out of the market for leasing by white farmers they have been making good economic and cultural progress, as their prosperity is based largely on their own work. Many of them have gone into Phoenix and are prospering in business, trades or personal service.

"One may not generalize about progress even in one tribe," says Lindquist ("Handbook for Missionaries among American Indians," p. 13), "for while the Apaches in Arizona have been known to shun glass windows in their wickiups for fear the ghosts would look in on them, the Apaches of Oklahoma prefer houses with glass windows and even glassed-in verandas and modern sleeping porches."

There are groups of Indians in several parts of the United States, and particularly in Alaska, who are still but little influenced by Christianity. This is largely due to their isolation, and lack of contacts with white settlers. The compact community life of the Indian pueblos and the great sparsely occupied reservation of the Navajos have had less contact with white people than almost any other part of our country, in spite of the comparatively recent influx of tourists and artists into the Southwest, and their extensive advertis-

ing of that region. Attracted by climate, natural beauty and interest in Indian culture they complicate the missionary problem.

From among them has arisen a considerable group of sentimentalists who object to any interference with the religion of the Indian, who idealize the sun worship of the pueblos and even apologize for the use of phallic symbols in the religious processions. (*Forum*, Nov. 1932, "Perpetual Pagans.") To them the missionary is a nuisance. They maintain that the Indian must be allowed to practice religion in his own way. Some of them claim the constitutional guarantees for freedom of worship to protect the old tribal ceremonies, overlooking the fact that much of the motive for keeping them up is now largely commercial, to satisfy the curiosity of tourists looking for a show. Railroad advertising and the efforts of Western towns and resort hotels to attract visitors is responsible for most of the public exhibition of the old religious ceremonies.

Many of the younger Indians have lost acquaintance with or interest in the rites of the old religion, and some of the sentimentalists are urging that they be taught these things in the government boarding schools. There was a proposal made in a conference of Indian Service teachers that Indian medicine men should be brought into the schools to give religious instruction to the Indian children just as the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries do. Meanwhile patent medicine vendors and other show men from the East are making money by exhibiting the customs of the older Indian, as though they were still typical. Some artists and writers dream of the perpetuation of an unmodified Indian culture existing in the midst of our American civilization, as a sort of picture gallery for beauty lovers, like the unchanging glories of the mountains and the canyons of the Indian country.

Mary Austin, high priestess of the old Indian culture of the Southwest, finds the missionaries absolutely objectionable,

and advocates, in a private letter to the author, "letting the so-called Christianized Indians alone, and trusting to time and local influence to restore them to their original culture." She thinks "the so-called Christianized Indians become, as a rule, untrustworthy, and lose the natural integrity of Indian character as well as the dignity of Indian culture." But she overlooks the fact that the "local influence" is changing rapidly. The Coolidge dam and the Hoover dam, and the much criticised Lee's Ferry bridge across the Colorado will continue to modify the local influences, so that the old desert culture will not much longer correspond to the environment. Governor Lallio of the Zuni pueblo was seen recently putting up alfalfa hay with modern farming machinery. He was asked about the Indian ceremonies, and replied that they were necessary to secure adequate rain for the crops. But if irrigation canals are extended, and he is able to secure larger harvests of alfalfa without resort to the rain dance, it is not likely he will feel any urgency to continue the old ritual. He prefers modern machinery to the old hand tools: he may soon prefer dependable irrigation water to the uncertain rain won from the reluctant clouds by such strenuous methods as the old dances.

In spite of protests the assimilating power of our American civilization is steadily modifying the habits of all the Indians, and inevitably fitting them into the molds of our Christian social standards. An appeal for preservation of the old Indian culture could not well discriminate between the picturesque colorful features of a public display for tourists and the brutalities and obscenities of the sun dance and the initiations. Those white persons who want to preserve the best of the old Indian culture can hardly set themselves up as judges of what is best. That should be left to the judgment of educated and thinking Indians who have had a chance to know both the old and the new.

Even the most conservative of the pueblos, and the great Navajo tribe, which has been so resistant to change, are now

showing indications of a probable rapid development in the next few years. Science is conquering the desert, and desert culture will inevitably change with changing physical conditions. Meanwhile the missionaries are recognizing a new eagerness for education, a new willingness to listen to a gospel of love and service, given them for the first time, in many cases, in their own language. No particular appeal for the preservation of Indian culture and Indian religion comes to us from any other section of the Indian country than the great Southwest, and there it seems probable that, in spite of the objections of a relatively small group of white persons, there will very soon be a great awakening among the Indians, and an adaptation to present day conditions. The great Navajo Tribal Council, held annually with the Indian Commissioner present, and many of the superintendents and missionaries and representatives of national Indian organizations, the newly-organized Navajo Returned Students' Council, the surprising response of the pueblo dwellers to the first presentation of the Gospel to them in their own language, both spoken and printed,—all these signs indicate notable and rapid changes in the direction of cultural assimilation in the course of the next few years.

It is just as true in Indian missions as anywhere else that progress in Christian work must be judged by changed lives. Missionaries do not shrink from this test for their converts, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Robert Chaat, an Indian general missionary among Comanches with the Reformed Church in America, gives his testimony in answer to the question, "What definite evidences are available of changes in individual or group habits, standards, attitudes and living conditions among the American Indians who have come under your observation, brought about primarily through Christian agencies?" He says: "Standards are raised in regard to lying, cheating, vulgar conversation. Real Christians generally stay at home and work if they are able. As to changes in regard to amusements, Christians stay away

from questionable places, show helpfulness and concern for others." An Indian's testimony to the change in the lives of his people ought to have considerable weight. Those white persons who dogmatically assert that, whatever the outward changes in the life of the Indian, his inner faith and philosophy remain the same can hardly be accepted as competent witnesses compared with the Indian himself.

Other answers to the above question from missionaries and students of Indian missions often emphasize changed attitudes toward family life. One says: "Family life is improved, marriage held more binding." Another says: "Homes are better; legal marriage relation is usual instead of sexual promiscuity." Another: "Marriage is more respected and permanent." Another: "No divorce in eight years in the active Christian group in two Comanche churches. The Christian Indians are much ashamed of illegitimate children, whereas there appears to be no shame on account of immorality among non-Christians." One says: "New ideas and ideals as to morality are very evident. More helpful attitudes of Indian young men toward their wives." Lindquist, in his "Handbook for Missionary Workers among the American Indians," says: "Any one who goes in and out among Indian homes to-day cannot but be impressed with the changed status of the Indian woman. . . . She now walks beside her husband, and not behind him. Women have become home makers and not burden bearers." Connected with the new respect for the marriage relation is the increased concern about children cited by many as evidence that Christianity changes things for the American Indian. The Christian Osages in Oklahoma, though subject to increased temptations because of their wealth from oil leases, are reported to have "given up immoral practices, are more concerned about training children, more willing to work themselves, in church projects instead of hiring others to work for them." "The Kickapoos are changing their type of home life, adding private bedrooms and bathrooms to their houses.

The women are learning vegetable gardening, quilting, canning. Some are setting out strawberry patches, since our mission has demonstrated the value of strawberry raising. They now bring food themselves for church suppers and invite our missionaries to meals in their own homes, instead of expecting all to be done for them. Some Indians are giving, at Christmas time, as well as receiving. They are more willing to worship with white people, where considerable prejudice kept the barriers high ten years ago."

Other missionaries in direct and constant contact with American Indians bring forward these definite evidences that they have been changed by Christianity: "Sobriety, industry, reliability, thrift." "Cleanliness, friendliness, peacefulness, moral uplift." "Change of habits, desire for cleanliness, departure from superstition, definite purposes, friendlier attitudes, desire for education, helpfulness, Christian service."

In spite of all the temptations to dependence and idleness resulting from the paternalism of the government in past years, one missionary says: "Men and women who had no economic opportunity, drunken and lazy from necessity, are now earning their own living, and have won the respect of their communities. A number have graduated from college and are teaching in Indian and white schools and doing other worthy work in the world." Another says there is "a growing consciousness that the old Indian ideas and ideals are too low," and "there is a higher appreciation of the United States government." One general worker in Wyoming says the Indians "are becoming productive citizens through farming and stock-raising; they are giving their children proper health instruction making for cleanliness; through a missionary store they are learning a sense of financial obligation in business dealings; they are developing self-help, and are giving money to propagate Christianity among other tribes." These are not general impressions of the writer; they are mentioned in detail as direct testimonies from missionaries from all over the field.

In all these quotations there has been no reference to the exceptional Indian; they all describe the average humble Christian. It would be easy to refer to outstanding individuals, products of Christian missions, from Samson Occum to Henry Roe Cloud, but the results of missions must be judged by changes in the mass rather than by the achievements of occasional leaders.

In indicating some of the evidences of cultural progress among the Indians due to Christian teaching and their acceptance of it, one must also give considerations to the obstacles which have hindered a fuller acceptance by them of the standards and ideals of Christian civilization, and a fuller realization of its fruits in their individual and community life. The effort of the white man to help the Indian spiritually has been made more difficult by a psychological barrier, different and harder to overcome than the barrier of race. Under normal conditions, such problems are not especially difficult. But when abnormal situations arise between races, as when a stronger takes advantage of a weaker, friendly interracial contacts and mutual helpfulness are hindered. The fundamental mistake in our early policy toward the Indians was that they were subjugated instead of being assimilated.

Assimilation of the Indians meant fair treatment of them, which the pioneer settlers of this country were, in general, unwilling to grant, though the Indians went at least half-way in friendly relations. Just escaped from exploitation by the old aristocracy of Europe, the pioneers developed a ruthless individualism, with little sense of social responsibility for less efficient groups. Belatedly, white Americans are now attempting that cultural assimilation of the Indians, as of the later immigrants from Europe, which is the only solution of race problems. But we are attempting it with this subjugated race under a serious handicap, the psychology of the defeated.

This psychology of a subjugated race constitutes one of the most serious obstacles in helping the Indians to a Christian

attitude toward God. The problem is not now as simple as in the days of Roger Williams and John Eliot and David Zeisberger. Patiently and laboriously we must win back the confidence of this discouraged, resentful people before they will accept the best-intentioned guidance toward a better knowledge of God and His plan for men. The "white man's religion" to the American Indian has similar implications with the phrase "Western Christianity" to the people of China and Japan and India. They are not sure they are finding the Great Spirit when they accept the "white man's God."

The "century of dishonor," from the beginnings of a definite Indian policy by the United States government until well into the twentieth century, a period of almost unrestrained aggression on the Indian lands, subjugation of the Indians by military force, and graft in administering Indian affairs, has made it incalculably difficult to persuade the Indians that the white man's God is better than the practices of his professed followers. Not only systematic exploitation, by the United States government and Congress, of the Indians and their rights, under treaties which were continually broken, but the presence of hordes of vicious and unscrupulous white men surrounding the Indian tribes and mingling with them by intermarriage, has created an almost insuperable barrier of prejudice and distrust against Christianity. Many Indians, like those of the Southwest, nominally accepted the religion of their conquerors. It is surprising that so many of those in other parts have really accepted the Christian gospel in spite of the treatment they have received from a Christian nation.

One cannot study Protestant Indian missions without being convinced that the Indian's religious progress is considerably dependent on his economic status. The Salvation Army's formula, "soup, soap and salvation," applies in Indian missions; but the stages cannot follow as rapidly as they do in some rescue work in cities. The few groups of Indians

with considerable economic resources that have come to them by treaty rights or by oil and timber leases are demoralized by their freedom from the necessity of working. Even those who derive a pitifully small annual income from the "unearned increment," their leases of land, their share of tribal funds, and other returns from business transacted for them by the government, are almost as much demoralized and unfitted for the sturdy self-dependence which is a condition of vital religious life. Those Indians who have almost no resources except their own efforts, under very unfavorable economic conditions, are slow to listen to a new gospel that does not offer them some prospect of better living conditions.

The constant hope on the part of the Indians for more payments from the government on account of allowed or not-yet-allowed claims is not favorable to religion. Even the elaborate machinery of the Indian Bureau to pay scrupulously each Indian his pitifully small share of funds available is rather a hindrance than a help to the Christian virtues, because it suggests luxury, compared with his poverty. Great and expensive missionary plants, and those at government agencies, though sincerely intended to serve the Indian, probably tend to develop a dependence reflex instead of stimulating the qualities which are basal to Christianity. The government Indian boarding schools, with all their splendid provision for the students, under the present policy of enlarged appropriations and reduced requirements, may easily become an injury to the Indian young people, because they are given everything in the way of material comforts, and required to give nothing in the way of personal sacrifice or responsibility. Much of the disappointment with the products of government Indian schools is due to the effects of a system which practically negatives the character-forming courses offered. Whatever instruction may be given concerning the virtues of self-denial and service becomes largely academic when there is an exaggerated concern lest the pupils be required to do any work for their education.

The unequal distribution of income to the different Indian tribes, and to individuals in the tribes, from the government trust funds, based on adventitious treaties, also forms among many Indians a source of discontent unfavorable to religion. It is as hard to do church work with Indians dissatisfied with unfair economic conditions as it is with white people. The government Bureau of Indian Affairs has repeatedly declared that the permanent advance of the Indian is dependent upon religion. But a better basis for religion in the individual and community life of the Indians must first be laid in a better economic system for them. Those who support the missionaries in their efforts to help the Indian find the "Jesus way" of living need to understand that the apparently slow progress of Christian missions among Indians at the present time is due, partly at least, to economic conditions over which the Indians have but little control.

Most white people take for granted the conditions of economic life into which they are born or to which they are trained by constant daily contact in the competition of a common group with common interests. The Indian can no longer take for granted the old economic life of his ancestors; he can no longer maintain himself as they did in the hunting or pastoral stage. He finds himself an alien in the new economic order of the white man. Material aid given by the government has done little to solve his problem of life-adjustment,—which is learning to work successfully under the conditions of American country and village life, as his white neighbors are doing. Bewildered by the complexity of modern industrial conditions, enfeebled by inaction and paternalism during the transitional stage from the old to the new, embittered by the injustice and misunderstanding of the white man, he faces the task of "getting a job" in the common life of his fellow Americans with unusual handicaps.

In days of industrial depression most men come to see that finding work affects very materially one's whole out-

look on life. The Indian's problem of adjustment centers largely on the question of getting his job and keeping it, as the white man must, by skill, thrift, faithfulness, all the complicated ethical obligations which bind together modern society. Prejudice against employment of an Indian is often based on his unwillingness to accept the moral code of steady, hard work. There is a great deal of unfair discrimination on account of race, but few employers will discharge, on merely racial grounds, a man who does better work.

The economic conditions into which the Indian must successfully enter, if he is to solve his problems of adjustment, are, to a considerable extent, beyond his powers, unless he learns the gospel of work through a modern social Christianity, and a modern social technique employed by missionaries and the Indian Field Service of the government. All the old traditions of a communistic life, of a division of labor giving the women the drudgery and men the fighting and hunting, all the old freedom and irresponsibility, all the demoralization and dependence which came under government wardship,—these things unfit the Indian for the accuracy and precision and meticulous regularity of the white man's work. One Indian complained that the white men were "slaves of the clock." Indians must learn that *freedom* comes in that way.

Christianity has a message of the sacredness of faithful and intelligent labor, which was perhaps better taught to the Indians by the padres in California and by John Eliot and the early missionaries than it is at the present day. Lacking the emphasis on this message the Indians are to-day so generally poor and helpless and inefficient.

To a considerable extent, however, the poverty and low standards of living among many of the Indians and the consequent failure to develop a strong religious life are due, not only to bad economic conditions, but to the persistence among them of certain social habits which need to be brought under a better social control, through the application of the state

laws and standards of white communities. For all of us, as St. Paul said, "the law is a schoolmaster." A mistaken sentimentalism or indifference about the Indians has generally deprived them of the discipline and the sanctions which white communities have built up for themselves, as embodied in their laws, however poorly enforced. The moral ideals taught by Indian Field Service workers and missionaries alike need the support of law and law enforcement to build up in the Indian that sense of obligation which is an important element in true religion. There is little left among many of the Indian tribes of the old social controls through tribal tradition. The Indian is now largely without the support of the old sanctions, and not yet brought under the influence of the new, the law and order of the American community. This is a problem of religious work, not merely a question of legal jurisdiction.

Another serious obstacle to the effort of the Indian to find and follow the Christian way of life is the practice of segregating these people from the white Americans in their schools, their civic and economic relations, and their religious fellowships. Segregation is the direct antithesis of assimilation, which is the only practicable way of showing to the Indians the sources of our religious faith and the ideals of our religious life.

Segregation was adopted as an apparently necessary, though temporary, means of protecting the Indians from discrimination and neglect and exploitation by unscrupulous white men. It turns out to be in many cases a protection of the Indians from the legal and economic and social consequences of their own acts,—and nothing is more disastrous to the growth of character. While protected, to a certain extent, from the rough competition of community life, the Indian is deprived of the support and inspiration of the general community standards and the personal contacts with sincere believers in Christ's law of service who are found in every white community. Can we expect Indians to find the common God of

all men independently of the white Americans with whom they are more and more in contact, and on whose fellowship they must more and more depend for inspiration and guidance?

The effect of denominational competition in Indian missions has been repeatedly emphasized. Mrs. Ruth Muskrat Bronson told at the Home Missions Conference at Washington in December of 1930 how confusing and baffling were the varieties of religion offered to her people by the different Protestant groups. This is particularly true in eastern Oklahoma where she was brought up. But in many cases Indians know little about any divisions in Christianity except between Roman Catholics and Protestants. *That* is everywhere a problem and a perplexity. There is a growing unity of planning and coöperation between the Protestant missionary agencies. Difficulties in adjustment of fields and responsibilities are frequently due to personalities in the missions, or to lack of comprehensive study of the whole situation rather than to the deliberate policies of the boards. There is no doubt that if the work of the churches among Indians could be unified, as is that of the government Indian Bureau, the Indian's progress in civilization and religion would be materially hastened. However, comprehensive and frequent surveys of the entire situation in Indian missions would probably shift the emphasis from denominational competition to the much more pressing question of neglect, in large areas and large aspects of our Christian contacts with the Indians.

Another serious handicap to Christian work among Indians is the almost universal dependence upon subsidies from the white churches for the support of Indian mission churches, salaries of Indian ministers as well as white missionaries, current expenses of Indian churches and every outlay for equipment, besides expenditures for supplies, for food and clothing given out in relief, and the cost of the innumerable errands which missionaries do in taking the sick to hospitals, children to school and attending to matters of business for

the Indians. The report of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, studying mission work in Japan, China and India during 1931-32 ("Re-Thinking Missions," 1932), says: "It is doubtful whether any single thing has brought more weakness in life and morals to the missionary church to the same extent that the payment of foreign subsidies has done. . . . No church in any land will be robust and virile until it supports itself out of its own resources through its own endeavors. All new churches should, so far as humanly possible, be indigenous and self-supporting from the start."

As a matter of fact there are very few self-supporting churches among American Indians, after many years of continuous missionary work. In many cases practically everything that goes to the support of a local Christian center is paid by the white missionary in charge out of appropriations from the mission board, or, often, from his own pocket. Where Indian ministers are appointed over local churches they sometimes support themselves out of their own income, receiving practically nothing from their people or from the mission board. Records of the Oklahoma Federation of Churches show that one denomination paid its Indian ministers on the average less than a dollar a week, and another less than a dollar a month; but many of the ministers received nothing at all. Of course it does not mean a self-supporting church if the minister supports himself, even though it does not cost the mission board anything.

The difficulty is not with the Indian's interest in religion, but that he has not been taught to give for the support of church work. Contributions to the support of the old tribal religions were usually forced rather than voluntary, at least given under the pressure of tribal custom. Payments to the tribal medicine man, who, in a way, represented what the Indian Christian minister now stands for, were for supposed value received. It has been extremely hard to develop among the Indians the idea of the voluntary support of a paid ministry devoted to ideal activities such as teaching and spiritual leadership.

The too frequently poor quality of intellectual and spiritual preparation of the Indian ministers is an illustration of the law of supply and demand. What the Indian Christians do not demand and will not pay for they will not produce. Heavy subsidies from the mission boards to supply adequately trained Indian ministers will not necessarily create the demand. It must come from a recognition by Indian Christians of their own need for strong leadership, and a sacrificial willingness to secure it by paying the costs.

Some of the mission board payments to Indian Christian workers are quite beyond the possibilities of the Indian Christians to pay, and tend to discourage any thought of self-support. Missionaries have had to pay fifty cents an hour to Indian interpreters, though the average family income of the tribe among whom they were working was less than two hundred dollars a year. Regularly employed Indian assistants have been paid in several cases more than the average white missionary, while the Indian Christian gives practically nothing for the support of the church. The question is not whether the Indian asks for such a salary and cannot be secured without it, or even whether he is worth the price he asks for his services, but whether the Indians themselves are likely in the near future to be willing to pay such amounts to their own spiritual leaders. Some mission boards provide the Indian preacher with a house and a considerable amount of land, granted to the mission by the government, and expect him to earn most of his living by farming. The difficulty about this plan is that the preacher does not, for various reasons, do much with his farm, and also that the more time he spends on his farm the less time he has for the intellectual and spiritual preparation he needs for his church work.

In response to a question sent out widely to missionaries among Indians and others interested in work among them, "What has been done in your mission toward developing self-maintaining and self-propagating churches led and controlled

by Indians?" most of the answers indicated very little accomplished in the way of self-support. A number agreed in saying that the time has not come for pushing self-support or self-propagation, that there is no tendency in that direction. Some in answering dodged the question of self-support while indicating that there was a good deal of Indian leadership in the work. One missionary superintendent said they depended a good deal on a ministry by laymen without compensation. A number blame the paternalism of the government Indian Service for making the Indians slow to give. One says the reason why self-support has not come with self-propagation under Indian leaders is due largely to the desperate economic situation of the Indians. But what are missionaries teaching as to the way out of that economic situation? Others say they are working definitely toward a goal of regular and proportionate giving, with the result (comparatively small) that most of the local and incidental expenses are paid by the Indians, sometimes a little on pastor's salary. No one suggested that it was the mistaken idea of helping the Indians which encouraged them in dependence instead of teaching them to take financial as well as spiritual responsibility.

When the principle enunciated by the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, that all new churches on the mission field "should, as far as is humanly possible, be self-supporting from the start" is recommended for the poverty-stricken churches of India, there does not seem to be any adequate reason why it should not be generally applied to the Indians of the United States.

It may be true that in some cases an Indian preacher who receives no financial support from his people is worth no more than he receives, and that the relatively small payments the Indian preacher is granted from the mission board are as much as they earn in the time spent on church work; but the weakness of many of the Indian churches, and the handicap to their progress and the development of their own strong

leadership is that they do not want these things enough to pay for them. It is psychology and not economics that is at fault. And this wrong psychology of the Indian about supporting the ministry and paying for the services of his church is as much due to the policy and attitude of the missionaries and the mission boards as to the policy of the Indian Bureau. There is an ecclesiastical as well as a governmental paternalism.

Even more important for the Indian's religious progress than the support of his own church by his own money is the cultivation and extension of the church by Indian preaching. Again and again white workers have said that Indians are not ready to take responsibility in their own churches and not prepared to provide spiritual leadership. But the giving of responsibility is part of the training for it. Leadership comes by leading. One of the most important problems of Indian missions is the proper relation of white missionaries to Indian Christian workers. Bishop Hugh L. Burleson, speaking of the use of Indian leadership, says, in "The Soul of the Indian," "We have hesitated to give responsibility. We have felt that the white man must hold things in his own hands. We have not been willing to trust God with the souls of other people. . . . We must not be afraid to develop their sense of leadership."

In some cases, as among the Five Tribes in eastern Oklahoma, where there has been in the past strong Indian leadership for many years, the Indian ministers do not now have enough instruction and inspiration from fellowship with their neighboring white ministers, or even from the general missionaries specially designated for this work. On the other hand many white missionaries think it better to do the work themselves than to trust the Indians. In some parts the Indian workers are left too much to themselves; in others they are not given adequate recognition and initiative. The Indian Christian worker must have a dignified status in his coöperation with the white missionary if he is to develop

strength and power in his ministry. An educated Indian who is always spoken of by the missionary as "my helper" or "my interpreter" will be very likely to look on the whole matter as a commercial transaction, and may become an imitator and an echo of the missionary rather than an independent thinker and preacher. One of the best rewards as well as one of the best incentives to leadership is recognition.

Historically the most successful missions among the Indians are those in which the churches have been extended and built up through the instruction and inspiration of Indian spiritual leaders. In Oklahoma they still talk of the great Indian evangelist, Frank Hall Wright. William B. Morrison, of Southeastern Teachers College, Oklahoma, writes of him in "The Red Man's Trail," p. 121, "Thousands of people throughout the United States and Canada were converted to Christ through the preaching and singing of this Choctaw Indian. . . . Among the converts under Wright's ministrations was the Apache chief Geronimo." Many portraits of the early Indian preachers of the Five Civilized Tribes hang in the museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Their honored names are borne by many prominent persons in the state.

Distinguished Christian Indian leaders, laymen and ministers, from the very beginning of the early Indian missions down to the splendid young Christian workers among many of the tribes at the present time, might be mentioned; but the purpose here is simply to point out the possibilities of Indian leadership, and to urge stronger efforts for its development. The Indian pastor, working through his own strong active church, can make that church a community center for a people who have lost their old social groupings and culture institutions. He has a unique opportunity, into which the missionary cannot enter, the opportunity of erecting a new group culture, which preserves all that is best in the old, and builds around the social ideals of Christianity.

A race capable of strong character are waiting and grop-

ing for some organizing and coördinating principle to draw them together around new social institutions. It is at once an encouragement and a challenge to realize that substitutes for the church are not yet offered to the Indian, as in so many white communities. It is still possible to build the whole life of Indian communities about the local church. As the old social institutions of the tribal religions break down the Indians drift about helplessly in contact with the social order of the white man, of which they are not yet a part, and into which they do not seem to fit.

The Indian pastor organizes and trains his group for eventual merging into the general social organizations of the white community. But, even more, he revives the spiritual capacities of the Indian people; he knows from personal experience their inner aspirations, their feeling after God, which has so often been buried under the rubbish of unthinking dependence; he is able to arouse the dry bones of their faith, and their stoical endurance for the sake of their faith. Religion is rarely an individual achievement; it is usually a group enterprise, under an inspired and prophetic group leader. The progress of the search for knowledge and fellowship with God among the American Indians, notable as it has been in the past, and encouraging as it is at present, in spite of all the great and peculiar handicaps, will probably be even more striking in the future if we can clear the way for the trained Indian preacher, chosen and supported by the people of his own community, to lead them in their search for God.

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